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THE URBAN CHARACTER
OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

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THE URBAN CHARACTER
OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

The Origins, Development, and Meaning
of Stational Liturgy



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TO MY MOTHER
AND TO THE MEMORY
OF MY FATHER

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ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS AND SERIES

AB	= Analecta Bollandiana
ACC	= Alcuin Club Collections
ACO	= Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum
ACW	= Ancient Christian Writers
ALW	= Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
ANF	= Ante Nicene Fathers
ANRW	= Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AOC	= Archives de l'orient chrétien
BEFAR	= Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BZ	= Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCL	= Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSEL	= Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	= Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae
CSCO	= Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium
DACL	= Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DOP	= Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ECR	= Eastern Churches Review
EHR	= English Historical Review
EL	= Ephemerides liturgicae
EO	= Echos d'Orient
GCS	= Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HAW	= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HBS	= Henry Bradshaw Society
HTR	= Harvard Theological Review
JAC	= Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JLW	= Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft
JRS	= Journal of Roman Studies
JTS	= Journal of Theological Studies
LCC	= Library of Christian Classics
LCL	= Loeb Classical Library
LJ	= Liturgisches Jahrbuch
LMD	= La Maison-Dieu
LP	= Liber Pontificalis
LQF	= Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen
MEFR	= Mélanges d'école française de Rome
MGH	= Monumenta Germaniae historica
NPNF	= Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers
OC	= Oriens Christianus
OCA	= Orientalia Christiana analecta

OCP	= Orientalia Christiana periodica
OS	= L'Orient syrien
PG	= Migne, Patrologia Graeca
PL	= Migne, Patrologia Latina
PO	= Graffin, Patrologia Orientalis
POC	= Proche-orient chrétien
RAC	= Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	= Revue bénédictine
REA	= Revue des études arméniennes
REB	= Revue des études byzantines
RED	= Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series major, fontes
RHE	= Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHR	= Revue de l'histoire des religions
RQ	= Römische Quartalschrift
RSR	= Revue des sciences religieuses
SC	= Sources chrétiennes
SL	= Studia liturgica
ST	= Studi e testi
TRE	= Theologische Real-Encyclopädie
TA	= Texte und Arbeiten
TU	= Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	= Vigiliae Christianae
ZKG	= Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKTH	= Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie
ZNTW	= Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION

Indeed liturgical forms are so intimately bound up with the external history of the world and of the Church and with the development of religious sentiment, itself conditioned by historical happenings, that they are constantly being subjected to very great modifications.¹

Historical understanding of Christian worship cannot rely on the texts of the liturgy alone, as Anton Baumstark realized more than forty years ago. Liturgy is a religious form, but it is also cultural, and as cultural it is subject to the vicissitudes of history. In other words, *context* is as important as *text* for the history of worship. This study is an attempt to interpret the relation between Christian liturgy and its historical context in the late antique and early medieval world in order to show the intimate connection between liturgical and cultural forms.

The particular context which will be studied here is the milieu of the late antique and early medieval city. I shall investigate the nature of liturgy as an urban phenomenon from the early fourth century, after the Emperor Constantine made Christianity once and for all an acceptable and tolerated religion in the Roman Empire, until the beginning of the high middle ages at the end of the tenth century, when the urban liturgy of all three cities to be considered had achieved a more or less fixed form. A dialectical relation obtained between urban milieux and Christian liturgies. On the one hand the cities influenced the development of liturgical forms, such as the eucharist, the liturgy of the hours, processions, and Christian initiatory practices, while on the other the liturgical life of the Christian communities influenced the social life of the cities as a whole. For Christian worship in the urban atmosphere was not limited to churches and shrines alone.² Thus, R. Guidoni is incorrect when he claims that Christianity presented the urban world with the unrealizable ideal of the "Heavenly Jerusalem," identified not with the city as a whole, but with individual ecclesiastical buildings for worship. We shall see throughout the study that it was precisely the city as a whole, which was to be the locus of the Church.

This study will also demonstrate that a dialectical relation obtained between Christian forms of worship and previous worship forms in Late

¹ BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 1.

² *La città europea*, p. 29.

Antiquity, Christian worshippers challenged and changed previous pagan forms of worship, but they also made use of them.³ Moreover, they adapted their lives of worship to specific urban and cultural milieux.

1. What is Stational Liturgy?

Historians of Christian worship have characterized the phenomenon that resulted from the interaction of the city and Christian worship as "stational liturgy." Recently the term *Stationsgottesdienst* has been used to describe Sunday services of Christian worship that take place in parishes which have no priests.⁴ However, A. Häussling is correct in arguing that the significant historical phenomenon of stational liturgy should retain its own nomenclature. Another term may be found for priestless Sunday Roman Catholic worship.⁵

In the period which we are investigating, a stational liturgy was not just any Sunday worship service, but rather a particular kind of worship service. Its essential elements are four. First, this form of worship always took place under the leadership of the bishop of the city or his representative. Thus, stational liturgy could be called papal liturgy in Rome, since the pope's presence (or the presence of his representative) was essential to it. In Jerusalem and Constantinople it could be referred to as patriarchal liturgy. Second, this form of liturgy was mobile: it did not always take place at the same church but was celebrated in different sanctuaries or shrines. Third, the choice of church or shrine depended on

³ HAMMOND, *City in the Ancient World*, pp. 319-320, makes too much of the critical and prophetic side of Christian worship by denying that the liturgy had any similar functions to the pagan civil worship of Greece and Rome: "The triumph of Christianity was possible because it operated in municipalities and came to terms with pagan culture. At the same time, its success weakened the vitality of the municipalities because it accomplished the elimination of their religious aspect, paganism, because it encouraged the best minds to retreat from urban life to the seclusion of the monasteries, and because it held before men the ideal not of civic but of heavenly life."

This is a rather simplistic account of the effect of Christianization on the cities after the manner of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. The contention that Christianity weakened municipalities in the Roman Empire by a drain of talent to the monasteries and by an other-worldly ideal is misleading. Both paganism and Christianity faced difficult cultural choices in the third and fourth centuries, and it is naive to think that Christianity merely reversed paganism's civic role. Cf. P. BROWN, "Approaches to the Religious Crisis of the Third Century A.D.," *EHR* 83 (1968) 542-558 (repr. in *idem, Religion and Society*, pp. 74-93); also his "Review of A. Momigliano, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*," *Oxford Magazine* (16 May 1963) pp. 300-301 (repr. in *idem, Religion and Society*, pp. 147-153).

⁴ H. ANFIEDERBECK, "Überlegungen zum sonntäglichen Wortgottesdienst," *LJ* 14 (1964), pp. 172-184.

⁵ Cf. HÄUSSLING, "Was ist 'Stationsgottesdienst'?" The etymological development of the term *statio*, will be dealt with in chapter four; its rough equivalent is Greek, *synaxis*, will be considered in chapter six.

the feast, fast, or commemoration being celebrated. Fourth, the stational liturgy was the urban liturgical celebration of the day. All other services of worship were subordinate to it both in scale and style. Therefore, we can define stational liturgy as follows:

Stational liturgy is a service of worship at a designated church, shrine, or public place in or near a city or town, on a designated feast, fast, or commemoration, which is presided over by the bishop or his representative and intended as the local church's main liturgical celebration of the day.

This definition will cover all of the liturgies and liturgical systems which are relevant to the present study.⁶

2. The Study of the Stational Liturgies

Since J. Mabillon published several medieval stational lists in the late seventeenth century,⁷ a great deal of work has been done, especially on the stational liturgy of Rome. The contributions of H. Grisar, I. Schuster, J. P. Kirsch, G. G. Willis, and recently, A. Häussling have been noteworthy in this area.⁸ With the exception of Grisar, however, little attempt was made to relate the Roman stational liturgy to the similar phenomenon in other major cities. Grisar recognized the stational character of both Roman and hagiopolite systems of worship. But as we shall see in the fourth chapter, his approach to the origins of stational liturgy was mistaken, for it made the Roman stational system dependent on the stational worship of Jerusalem.

⁶ Most definitions of stational liturgy contain some of the elements of the definition given in the text. For example, ZEPF, "Fortleben," p. 225: "Die gemeinsame Eucharistiefeier von Bischof, Klerus, und Volk an Festtagen in einer vorher angekündigten Märtyrer- oder Stadtkirche; also LECLERCQ, "Stations liturgiques," col. 1634: "...à Rome des réunions liturgiques solennelles et communes." Also, KIRSCH, "L'origine des stations," p. 138: "...il signifie que dans l'église qui est indiquée avait lieu autrefois, un jour marqué, l'Office eucharistique solennel, présidé par le Pape en personne ou par son représentant."

One must be wary, however, of identifying stational liturgy, as do Kirsch and Zepf, only with the eucharistic celebration. Stational liturgies at Jerusalem and Constantinople did not always comprise the eucharist, nor were they held exclusively in church buildings. A thorough and accurate definition of stational liturgy is given by HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskorvent*, p. 186: "Stationsgottesdienst — als Einzelfeier — heisst jene liturgische actio, unter dem Vorsitz des Bischofs oder seiner Vertreter unter Teilnahme des Klerus und der Gemeinde an gewissen Tagen nach festgelegtem Plan reihum in einem der Kirchenbauten der Stadt stattfindet; sie ist für gewöhnlich die Eucharistiefeier (mit Predigt); sie kann aber auch ein Hörenoffizium (Vigil, Vesper) sein."

⁷ MABILLON, *Museum Italicum* II (Paris 1689), xxxi-xxxv.

⁸ GRISAR, *Das Missale* (1925); SCHUSTER, *The Sacramentary* (1924 ff); KIRSCH, *Stationskirchen* (1926); WILLIS, "Roman Stational Liturgy," *idem, Further Essays* (1968), pp. 3-87; HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskorvent* (1973).

Publication of the fourth-century pilgrimage account of Egeria by J. F. Gamurrini in 1887, and of the calendar of the fifth-century Armenian lectionary by F. C. Conybeare in 1896, brought to light the stational nature of the early Jerusalem liturgy.⁹ This realization was further enhanced by publication of several manuscripts of the Georgian lectionary by C. Kekelidze in 1912.¹⁰ Cabrol studied the Jerusalem stational liturgy on the basis of the *Itinerarium* of Egeria in 1895.¹¹ And in 1925 J. B. Thibaut updated the investigation on the basis of Conybeare's edition and the Georgian lectionaries.¹² A further study using the same sources was that of D. Baldi in 1939.¹³

In 1961 A. Renoux published another important manuscript of the Armenian lectionary, Jer. Arm. 121.¹⁴ He followed this with an improved edition and introduction in the *Patrologia Orientalis* in 1969.¹⁵ Renoux's edition has been the basis of several further studies of the stational hagiopolite liturgy by R. Zerfass, H. Leeb, and J. Wilkinson.¹⁶

Thus, a great deal of attention has been paid to the Jerusalem stational liturgy in contemporary scholarship. The stational nature of the liturgy of Constantinople has been recognized only relatively recently. A manuscript of the Typikon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) was published by A. Dmitrievskij in 1895.¹⁷ A few years later, H. Delehaye edited a thirteenth-century *synaxarion*, containing feasts and stational churches of the city of Constantinople.¹⁸ However, it was only with J. Mateos' critical edition of the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church in the manuscript Jerusalem Stavrou 40 that interest in the stational character of Constantinopolitan worship was aroused. The stational nature of the liturgy of "New Rome" has been advanced by both Mateos himself and R. Taft.¹⁹ A full study of the stational liturgy of Constantinople has yet to be done, and the present study will begin to fill that gap.

⁹ J. F. GAMURRINI, *S. Hilarii tractatus de Mysteriis et hymni et S. Silvii peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (Rome 1887); CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armeniarum*.

¹⁰ C. KEKELIDZE, *Ierusalimukij Kanonar XII veka* (Tiflis 1912). Kekelidze's work was furthered by an edition of more Georgian lectionary manuscripts, together with those he had edited, in CSKO by M. TARCHNIVILI, GL (1959-1960).

¹¹ CABROL, *Étude*.

¹² THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*.

¹³ BALDI, *Liturgia di Gerusalemme*.

¹⁴ RENOUX, "Manuscrits."

¹⁵ Jer. Arm. 121.

¹⁶ ZERFASS, *Schriftlesung* (1969); LEEB, *Gesänge* (1970); WILKINSON, *Egeria's Travels* (1971).

¹⁷ DMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie* I, 1895.

¹⁸ DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium* (1902), pp. vii-viii. Delehaye's edition is based on a number of manuscripts.

¹⁹ MATEOS, *Typikon* I and II (1962-1963); also his *Célébration* (1971); TAFT, "How Liturgies Grow" (1977); "Structural Analysis" (1978).

3. The Goal of this Study: Comparative Liturgy

Though this study, then, relies on the liturgiological work of the past hundred years. However, it is the first time that an attempt has been made to study the stational character of the major urban liturgies by comparing and contrasting them with one another. Thus an important lacuna will be filled in the understanding of liturgical development in Late Antiquity.

R. Krautheimer has recently written: "on the establishment of Station Services further research is needed."²⁰ This is true for several reasons. In the first place, no adequate distinction has been made between the origins of stational practice and the development of the stational system, especially at Rome. Furthermore, it has all too often been assumed that stational practice and liturgical processions have a common origin wherever stational liturgy appears.²¹ But perhaps the greatest lacuna has been a noticeable lack of comparative study in the area of stational worship. Baumstark has shown that in order to understand fully the development of Christian worship one liturgical rite cannot be studied in isolation from the others.²² Therefore, one object of the present study is to show how the worship life of each of the three major urban centers of Late Antiquity, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople, illuminates and is illuminated by the worship life of the others. There are fundamental differences as well as similarities in these three urban liturgical systems, and these differences are related to their distinct urban histories. One must also distinguish the origins of stational practice from the formal organization of series of stations; i.e., stational systems. In addition, the relation between the stational processions and the stational liturgies as such needs to be clarified.

Three cities, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople have been chosen for two reasons. First, these are the urban rites for which we possess the most evidence. Other cities and towns like Alexandria, Antioch, Milan, and Oxyrhynchus also had stational liturgies, but their evidence is relatively incomplete and some selection had to be made for the purpose of doing a thorough treatment of each rite. Second, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople all had a major symbolic significance for the late antique and early medieval world, and were the centers of liturgical influence that left their imprint most clearly on subsequent rites.

The order in which the stational rites of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople will be studied is not arbitrary. Despite the fact that the

²⁰ KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome*, ■, 338-339n.

²¹ As we shall see this is a difficulty in the otherwise fine study by HIRAZAKURA, "Collecta und Statio."

²² BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 7, warns against approaching liturgical texts with too many preconceived ideas or theories in the interest of systematization.

roots of stational *practice* can be traced in Rome to the pre-Constantinian period (in fact, to the end of the second century), the first evidence of a stational *system* comes from Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century. Constantinople will be considered last because the least amount of research has been done on this stational liturgy, and sources which witness its stational system are relatively late.

The time-span of this study is undeniably long. The six hundred years from the fourth to the tenth centuries witnessed enormous socio-cultural changes in both East and West. One cannot hope to describe all of these changes, nor even to provide a detailed treatment of the architectural and topographical histories of each city. Such an attempt would be a needless repetition of the vast scholarly production in these fields, especially over the past one hundred years. But this study cannot avoid encompassing so broad a period if it is to include the three major urban practices, their gradual systematization, and their continuing relation to changing conditions within the cities themselves.

We shall begin with the stational liturgy of Jerusalem as described by Egeria at the end of the fourth century and end with the destruction of the complex of ecclesiastical buildings around the Holy Sepulchre by Hakim at the beginning of the eleventh century. The major evidence for the stational rites of all three cities falls within this period. However, equal attention will not be paid to each city in each century. For Jerusalem we are concerned primarily with the development of the stational system in the fourth and fifth centuries. For Rome our focus will be on systematization of stational practice in the fifth and sixth centuries, a development to which much of the data refers. Constantinopolitan sources deal mainly with the stational organization of the tenth century, but there is also evidence of the origins of stational practice in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Since history is rarely as neat as the lines we draw between centuries and periods, it will also be necessary to refer to archeological and liturgical data antedating and postdating the six-hundred-year period of our main sources.

4. *The Arrangement of the Material*

With such a vast amount of liturgical, social, architectural, and topographical data to survey and evaluate, the arrangement of this study is an important consideration.

This study of stational liturgy falls into two parts. In the first, each city will be treated separately with its topography, ecclesiastical architecture, and relevant social history. Then the sources for the stational liturgy, the liturgy itself and special problems connected with it will be discussed.

The second part of the study is comparative and attempts to see what the evidence analyzed in Part I can tell us about the nature of Christian urban liturgy in the first millennium. Chapter seven will deal with the effect that the urban milieu had on Christian worship. Similarities and differences between the stational liturgies will be analyzed. Then the nature of liturgical processions in Christian worship will be discussed, especially in relation to pre-Christian processional practice in Greece and Rome. On this basis the processional practice of the three stational liturgies will be compared and contrasted. Finally, the influence of the stational liturgies upon one another and their impact on later liturgical developments will be treated, especially in relation to the entrance rite of the mass of the Roman rite.

On the basis of the foregoing data, analyses, comparisons, and contrasts, the eighth and final chapter of this study will deal with five broader subjects: Christianity as an urban phenomenon, Christianity and the idea of the city, Christian liturgy and urban life, the stational systems and the transformation of liturgy, and finally the relation between time and space in Christian worship.

PART ONE

THE STATIONAL LITURGIES OF JERUSALEM, ROME,
AND CONSTANTINOPLE

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING AND THE SOURCES OF THE JERUSALEM STATIONAL LITURGY

A. JERUSALEM BEFORE AND AFTER CONSTANTINE

The city which provides the focus for this chapter is not the Jerusalem that Jesus knew. That city was almost completely destroyed in 135 A.D. when Roman troops under Hadrian put down the last major Jewish revolt of Bar Cochba and left the city, especially the site of the Temple in the northeast quadrant, in ruins.¹

In the place of the former city the Romans constructed a military colony (*colonia*), Aelia Capitolina. This new unwallled settlement took the shape of a parallelogram with a longitudinal axis running North-South of 950 meters and a transverse axis of 600 meters, not a very large town compared with major urban centers such as Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. Two major thoroughfares in the tradition of Roman town planning ran along the axes. The *cardo maximus* along the N-S axis was intersected at the town forum² by the *decumanus maximus* running along the E-W axis. Within the new town but outside former Jerusalem stood a Temple of Venus on the supposed site of Christ's crucifixion and burial. It is possible that a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the *genius* of the colonia, stood on or near the ruins of the old Temple of Herod.³ Another part of the city, called Sion by the Christians, lay outside the southwest corner of Aelia proper within the former city limits. Sion, the name given to the original Temple area, had been transferred by the Christians to this spot.⁴ Here was located what may have been the only Christian center of worship at Aelia-

¹ As a humiliation to the Jews the Temple was never to be rebuilt, even though plans were made for its reconstruction during the brief reign of Julian, 361-363. The Bordeaux Pilgrim described the area of the Temple at the time of his visit in 333. Cf. *Itin. Burdigalense*, pp. 15-16. The emperor Julian's plan to rebuild the Temple was abortive because of the brevity of his reign, 361-363. Cf. also, Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 8:3.

² Cf. V/A, p. 1. "Jérusalem avait été abolie pour faire place à une ville de caractère tout autre, fondée avec ses rues propres et organisée suivant les exigences d'une civilisation absolument différente."

³ V/A, pp. 32-33.

⁴ V/A, p. 21.

Jerusalem before Constantine.⁵ It may well have escaped Diocletian's order for the destruction of all Christian places of worship on 24 February 303.

With the Constantinian settlement of the early fourth century the religious situation of Aelia changed dramatically. No longer a Jewish city, this Roman *colonia* was ready ground for Christian urbanization. Edifices for worship and shrines at sites traditionally associated with the life of Christ could now be constructed. This new Aelia, later to be renamed Jerusalem, had attracted a considerable number of Christian inhabitants by the late fourth century. The shrines, erected through the generosity of Constantine, made Jerusalem both a center of pilgrimage and a tribute to the new imperial order.⁶ Center of worship multiplied under later imperial patronage, especially that of Theodosius the Great and his wife, Eudoxia, as well as Eudocia, sister of Theodosius II. This came to an abrupt halt in the seventh century (614) when the city was destroyed by the Persian invasion under Chosroes II. Hardly had the rebuilding begun when the city fell again to the Arabs under Caliph Omar in 638.⁷

1. The Buildings Around Golgotha

The challenge Constantinian Jerusalem presented to Christian forms of worship can best be observed by turning to the earliest buildings constructed under the emperor's patronage, those around Golgotha. The sole pre-Constantinian center of worship, the house-church ■ Sion, was probably not nearly large enough to hold the crowds of pilgrims that swarmed to Jerusalem. This alone would have forced the construction of new buildings for Christian worship. In addition, of course, there were sites traditionally associated with the life of Christ, especially those associated with the death, burial, and resurrection. These last sites were to provide the backbone of the mobile system of worship to be described below. A brief description of that setting is needed to set the scene for Jerusalem's stationary liturgy. Here we rely on the archeological and architectural-historical work of the past century. The work of H. Vincent and F. M. Abel and others has provided an extensive history of the city and its monuments in the beginning of this century.⁸

⁵ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, VPNE, series II, Vol. I, N.Y., 1890, Bk. VII:19 (GCS 2:2, p. 666); cf. also VII:13:2 (GCS 2:2, p. 674) for the decree of Gallienus (261-62) allowing Christians to hold assemblies and maintain their own places of worship. The rebuilding of Christian churches in the East precedes Constantine's power there, cf. the decree of Galerius (311) permitting Christians to "rebuild the conventicles, in which they were accustomed to assemble...," VIII:17:9 (GCS 2:2, p. 794).

⁶ V/A, p. 21.

⁷ For the Persian attack and the Arab Conquest, cf. JOIN-LAMBERT, *Jerusalem*, pp. 140-166.

⁸ V/A contains much of this information, neatly summarized in the survey of the city's monumental history, pp. 875-939. Cf. also KOPP, *Holy Places*, and ABEL's survey article

By far the most important monument for the Jerusalem liturgy is the complex of buildings surrounding the site of Christ's crucifixion and burial.⁹ Constantine's contemporary and friend, Eusebius of Caesarea,¹⁰ informs us that these edifices were part of a conscious design for the christianization of Jerusalem on the emperor's part: "He gave from his own private resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with abundant offerings." Eusebius calls the building a "divine monument of immortality," built where the Temple of Venus had once stood, with the hill gradually cut away so that the cave of the resurrection and the rock of Calvary could stand out.¹¹ The complex consists of an undescribed monument around the tomb of Christ and a basilica, which had at the east end an elaborate entrance, *propylaea*, and atrium.¹² The early Constantinian shrine of the holy sepulchre proper west of the basilica's apse consisted of an edicule bounded by a courtyard with porticos on three sides. This atrium could be entered from the street on the north and south sides and from the basilica itself. The basilica must have been at a higher level than the atrium since the sources speak of going up to the church or descending to the edicule of the resurrection.¹³ The Martyrium basilica was not large, measuring only some 45 × 35 m, according to the most recent archeological findings. The atrium to the east of the basilica stood between its entrance and the propylaea on the *cardo maximus*. It was an irregular rectangle, 27 × 40 m. There were three doors to the propylaea as well as to the basilica, making possible large scale processional entries.

The second stage in the development of this complex adds a shrine of the Cross atop the rock of calvary located at the west end of a southern aisle of the basilica itself. In addition, to the north of the basilica and parallel to it, there was a small chapel, called by Egeria *post Crucem*. The second Eucharist of Great Thursday and the adoration of the wood of the Cross on Good Friday took place in this chapel.¹⁴ A domed rotunda was

"Jerusalem" in *DACL* 7:2, cols. 2304-2374, and WILKINSON, *Egeria*, pp. 36-53. Other important articles and monographs will be cited below.

⁹ H. VINCENT has argued extensively for the authenticity of the site, cf. V/A, pp. 29-304.

¹⁰ EUSEBIUS, VC I:42; II:45-46; cf. V/A, pp. 903-904.

¹¹ VC III:26-28 (GCS 7, pp. 89-91).

¹² VC III:37 (GCS 7, p. 94).

¹³ *Irin.* Eg. 24:3, *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 297.

¹⁴ Cf. KOPP, *Holy Places*, p. 388. For a description of the Golgotha *monticulus* cf. COUASSON, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 50-51, 39, 42: "The rock of Calvary was situated in the axis of the first southern lateral nave, while the other nave must have opened on to a passage leading to the Rotunda." Couasson's observations which are based on recent archeological evidence hold more weight than those of COUASSON, "Original Buildings,"

built to enshrine the edicule of the tomb. This building not mentioned by Eusebius or the Bordeaux pilgrim is alluded to by Cyril of Jerusalem and Egeria. Therefore, it seems that the Anastasis, as the church was called, was constructed sometime between Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (337) and the Catecheses of Cyril (ca. 348-350).¹⁵ According to the most recent excavations the Anastasis rotunda, which measured about 30 m. in diameter, is not on a line with the apse of the Martyrium, which in turn is on a longitudinal axis with the eastern propylaea.¹⁶ What was most important to the builders, therefore, was that the entrance and nave of the Martyrium be on a longitudinal axis, most probably for processional purposes. In addition, given the multiple atria, there is much room left for movement around these buildings, even when space is taken up within the Cross atrium by the Anastasis rotunda. Clearly, the buildings around Golgotha were constructed with a view to a liturgy that called for much movement. Forms of access from the street are provided on the north, south and east sides.

In addition to the salvation-history significance of this complex later tradition considered Golgotha to be the center of the world.¹⁷ Other traditions associated it with the burial place of Adam, and with Mount Moriah where Abraham was to have sacrificed Isaac.¹⁸ The omphalos, or navel of the world, was assigned by the 7th-8th century to the middle of the Cross atrium itself. In the Anastasis Typikon the atrium is called the "Holy Garden," no doubt an illusion to Eden.¹⁹

Therefore, more than one building made up the liturgical center of Jerusalem worship. It was unique to the extent that the sites it memorialized were unique. Note, however, that this center was not only a memorial but also the ecclesial center for the Jerusalem church, complete with baptistery and bishop's residence. These glorious surroundings, it must be remembered, were the site of worship day in and day out through the year and not only at commemorative times, as in Holy Week. They testify to the extension of worship not only in time and as an historical commemoration, but as an extension in space as well. So evidently, no effort was spared by Constantine to make the complex extraordinarily beautiful. This is true even prior to the construction of the Anastasis and the raising of a jeweled-cross atop Calvary, if Eusebius is to be believed.²⁰

pp. 1-48, which are based almost exclusively on literary descriptions. The dimensions of buildings around the Holy Sepulchre given in the text are taken from Couâsson.

¹⁵ COUÂSSON, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 3; CONANT, "Original Buildings," p. 44.

¹⁶ COUÂSSON, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 45; CONANT, "Original Buildings," p. 2, confuses the issue by calling the area "nearly axial."

¹⁷ Already in CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Catecheses* 13:28 (PG 33:805). Note the reference to the omphalos in the midst of the "Holy Garden" in the Anastasis Typikon, p. 144.

¹⁸ V/A, II, 186.

¹⁹ *Anastasis Typikon*, *passim*; V/A, p. 224.

²⁰ VC 111:36.

But these buildings were by no means the only ones used for worship, as several other edifices and sites were important for the liturgy of the Jerusalem community up until the seventh century.²¹

2. Sion

It has already been noted that Christians transferred the name Sion from the Temple area to the SW corner of the city outside the walls of Aelia. This was the location of the upper market and therefore references are usually made to "going up" to Sion. According to tradition this is where the Christian community took up residence after the destruction of the Temple by Titus in 70. It was also considered to be the headquarters of the apostles after Jesus' resurrection. Sion was an area of the city that had been spared by successive attacks.²² Eusebius relates that a small house-church there was the first Christian center and that it contained in his day the chair of James, the community's first bishop.²³

The original building at Sion seems not to have been prepossessing. The Bordeaux pilgrim mentions the site but no basilica in 333.²⁴ Vincent and Abel suggest that the site was not included in the Constantinian building program because until the new Martyrium was completed the community needed Sion as its "cathedral."²⁵

It was not long before a large rectangular basilica replaced the house church. Cyril refers to it in his catecheses as the upper church where the disciples received the Holy Spirit,²⁶ but there was at this time no hint of a connection between Sion and the institution of the Eucharist. Egeria lacks any reference to Sion in this connection. The first indication of such a tradition that the Last Supper took place at Sion is found in the fifth century Armenian Lectionary, where it serves as the station for the second Eucharist on Holy Thursday. From the fifth century on the Sion Church was closely linked with the institution of the Eucharist, though originally it lacked this connotation. The Sion Basilica seems to have been a large church and will figure prominently in the unfolding stational pattern. Largest of all the structures on the Madaba mosaic map, it is pictured with a *diaconicon* or sacristy in which were placed the bones of St. Stephen after their discovery in 415. It probably did not have two stories, but was called "the upper church" on account of its location in a higher part of the city.

²¹ This survey is concerned simply with the buildings that were constructed prior to the Persian invasion, under Chosroes II in 614. No major additions were made to the stational pattern after this, but the pattern did change somewhat as will be evident in section 3 below.

²² V/A, p. 448.

²³ EUSEBIUS, *HE* VII:19.

²⁴ *Itin. Burdigalense*, p. 16.

²⁵ V/A, p. 451.

²⁶ CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Cat.* 16:4, (PG 33:924).

The Sion basilica was rebuilt by Modestus after the Persian invasion, in which period the association of Sion with the institution of the Eucharist and also with the Dormition of the Virgin becomes fixed.²⁷

3. Bethlehem

At Bethlehem, located some five and a half miles south of Jerusalem, was one of the "mystical caves" designated by Constantine for the building of basilicas. The cave, in a grove that had been dedicated to Adonis (or Thammuz),²⁸ was destroyed to make way for a four-aisled basilica, whose nave extended 27.5 × 26.8 m. At the eastern end of the basilica an octagonal sanctuary stood above the original cave of Christ's birth. Archeologists have not been able to determine exactly how the sanctuary was used. We do not know if it was provided with a fixed altar table, nor have the precise means of entry from the church to the cave below been found.²⁹

The Bethlehem church was used as a station church on Epiphany in the Armenian Lectionary, on Christmas in the Georgian Lectionary and on the fortieth day after Pascha in Egeria. Its importance as the birthplace of Christ apparently warranted the five mile journey from Jerusalem.³⁰ Another station connected with Bethlehem for Epiphany (AL) and Christmas (GL) was called the "Place of the Shepherds." Kopp identifies this as a field about 1000 meters to the east of the town, and Peter the Deacon, 1137, speaks of a church *ad Pastores*. Apparently there was a monastery nearby.³¹

4. Lazarium

About two miles east of Jerusalem over the Mt. of Olives is the village mentioned in John's gospel (Jn 11:1) as the home of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. Here the tomb of Lazarus provided yet another station site for the Jerusalem church, both on the Saturday preceding Great Week and during the octave of Epiphany. Early in the fourth century there was no church on the spot but only a crypt. By Egeria's time, however, a church with the form of a three-aisled basilica, headed by an apse and preceded by an open-air atrium had been built. Unlike many commemorative shrines, this church was not constructed with its apse over the historical spot (or

grave) itself; rather, the tomb-crypt of Lazarus was attached laterally to the NW corner of the atrium.³²

5. Eleona and Other Stations on the Mt. of Olives

In both the gospels and later tradition the Mt. of Olives figures prominently in the life of Jesus, especially with the regard to the passion. The first church built on the mount, however, was connected to an event that preceded the passion: Christ's apocalyptic discourse (Mt 24:1-26:2) which tradition assigned to a cave near the top of the mount.³³ This cave which faced the city and the site of the old Temple was also considered by Eusebius and Cyril to be the site of Christ's ascension. The church took its name from the Greek name of the mount itself, Eleona. Building was begun in 325 and it was the third of Constantine's basilicas over "mystic caves." The Eleona was oriented and had an apse.

The cave of Christ's teaching was located below the sanctuary of this three-aisled rectangular basilica measuring 16 × 24 m. in the nave. It had a propylaeum at its entrance and a rather large atrium (16 × 22 m.) relative to the size of the church.³⁴ Eusebius links the building of this church too to the influence of Helena.³⁵

The Eleona was used as a station church during the important octaves as well as on Tuesday and Thursday evenings of Holy Week, and for an afternoon service every day of Easter Week. Under the name, Matheteion, the place of the disciples, this church was often used on saints' days according to the Georgian Lectionary.³⁶

Imbomon

The next shrine used as a station is mentioned as early as 333 by the Bordeaux Pilgrim. It is the Imbomon, from the Greek for ἐν Βουβῳ, on the summit. There must have been a tradition assigning the Imbomon as the site of the Transfiguration, for the pilgrim calls it "the hill on which the Lord ascended to pray and where Moses and Elijah appeared..."³⁷ By the time of Egeria, however, the Imbomon was considered as the spot of Christ's ascension. The site of Transfiguration was assigned to Mt. Tabor.³⁸ Egeria refers to the Imbomon as "...eo loco, de quo ascendit

²⁷ Cf. VIA, pp. 455-57.

²⁸ Cf. JEROME, *Epistle* 58 (to Paulinus), PL 22:581.

²⁹ KOPP, *Holy Places*, p. 16.

³⁰ The first basilica was enlarged by Justinian in 531. A transept and triple apse (replacing the octagon) were added to the original structure. The basilica was spared in the Persian invasion, cf. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 151-52.

³¹ KOPP, *Holy Places*, pp. 33-38.

³² KOPP, *Holy Places*, p. 279.

³³ VIA comment on the appropriateness of caves for early Christian worship: "Ce culte des grottes dans les trois premiers siècles du christianisme est assez remarquable. À défaut des oratoires qu'on pouvait bâtir, les cavernes naturelles abritaient la dévotion des fidèles, et moins qu'aucun autre accident de terrain elles étaient sujettes à des changements," p. 379.

³⁴ KOPP, *Holy Places*, p. 407-08.

³⁵ VC III:41.

³⁶ WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 166.

³⁷ *Itin. Burdigalense*, p. 18.

³⁸ TELFER, Cyril, *Catechesis* 12:16.

*Dominus in caelis...*³⁹ Egeria's consistent use of *locus* for the Imbomon leads one to suspect that there was no church there in her time, even though it was the site of stational services. Devos has shown that the round church with center open to the sky (modelled on the Pantheon?) was built under the patronage of a noble lady, Poemenia. She left Jerusalem in 392, and the church was probably built after Egeria's visit ended in 384.⁴⁰ The Imbomon provides the station for the celebration of the ascension on Pentecost Sunday in Egeria,⁴¹ but on the fortieth day after the Pascha in the Armenian Lectionary.⁴² It is also used during the Holy Week processions. The Arab invasion was particularly destructive on the Mt. of Olives and the large cross set atop the Imbomon was torn down along with the church, which was rebuilt late in the tenth century.⁴³

The Mount of Olives was a popular site for monastic foundations. Vincent and Abel claim that the fifth century is the time when Jerusalem really became a religious capital. Part of their proof is the large number of monasteries and oratories built at this time among them. Melanie the Younger founded two monasteries between 431-38.⁴⁴ These monasteries were not stations for the Jerusalem church, but their members (the city monks and nuns) no doubt provided many of the congregants for the services.

Gethsemane

Down the Mt. of Olives lies the garden of Gethsemane near its foot. Egeria mentions an *ecclesia elegans* there in the course of her description of services on the night of Thursday-Friday of Holy Week.⁴⁵ She says it was large enough to hold all the people in the procession along with the bishop and the clergy. Excavations undertaken in this century have uncovered the foundations of the church, one of the first to be destroyed in the Persian invasion of 614. The fourth-century structure had a nave which measured 22 x 16.5 meters and ended in three apses. Its EW axis was deflected 13 degrees north in order to enshrine the rock of Jesus' agony and perhaps to face the old Temple site as well.⁴⁶ The tenth century Anastasis Typikon calls the church rebuilt on the site, the Ἀγία Προσκύνησις. Since Egeria mentions that all the people entered this relatively small church for the

³⁹ *Itin. Eg.* 31:1, 36:1.

⁴⁰ WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, gazetteer, p. 166.

⁴¹ *Itin. Eg.* 43:5.

⁴² AL 57.

⁴³ V/A, pp. 397-400; cf. also WILKINSON, *Egeria*, pp. 49-51.

⁴⁴ V/A, p. 909.

⁴⁵ *Itin. Eg.* 36:1.

⁴⁶ For further data regarding the *ecclesia elegans* and its location; cf. KOPP, *Holy Places*, pp. 345-46. V/A, p. 306.

stational service, we may have here an important indication that the crowds attending the Holy Week stational services were not at all large, perhaps several hundred at most.

Egeria also mentions a stational service at the place of Christ's arrest. A church was later built on the spot and in the sixth century was considered to be the tomb of the Virgin Mary. Around the same time the stational service for the arrest of Jesus was transferred to the *ecclesia elegans*.⁴⁷ Egeria's place of Christ's arrest was also considered in the sixth century as the site of the Lord's Supper.⁴⁸

Therefore, a number of different events marked by stational services were assigned to two different sites at the base of the Mount of Olives. There seems to be little consistent tradition for assigning specific events to specific sites in this area. At any rate these sites provided easily accessible stations for processions coming down the Mount.

6. Other Churches in Jerusalem Proper

Several other churches within the city itself contributed to the unfolding of the stational pattern. The first is the "House of Caiaphas," seen by the Bordeaux pilgrim in the Sion quarter.⁴⁹ It was probably not a church in 333 for Egeria does not mention it as part of the procession between Thursday and Friday of Great Week.⁵⁰ There is a station there according to ms. J of the Armenian Lectionary but no indication of a church building.⁵¹ By 530 there is a church called St. Peter's on this spot, not far from Sion basilica.⁵² Archeologists have been unable to identify the ruins of St. Peter's nor those of the Praetorium of Pilate, which figures in the stational disposition of ms. P of the Armenian Lectionary.⁵³ The Praetorium of Pilate, called Hagia Sophia after the sixth century, seems to have been located somewhere in the Tyropoean Valley; i.e. in the SE corner of the city south of the old Temple area and near the Pool of Siloam. The first church was destroyed during the Persian invasion and later rebuilt.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ V/A, p. 311.

⁴⁸ V/A, p. 308.

⁴⁹ *Itin. Burdigalense*, p. 16.

⁵⁰ *Itin. Eg.* 36:3-4.

⁵¹ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 35), p. 277. Renoux translates J here: "Et de suite on va dans la cour du grand prêtre, au lieu de repentir de Pierre."

⁵² KOPP, *Holy Places*, p. 355. TELFER, *Cyrl. Cat.* 13:38, had described the spot as a ruin ca. A.D. 350.

⁵³ Cf. RENOUX's discussion in the introduction to the Armenian Lectionary *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 35), pp. 45-48. The unfolding of the pattern in Mss. J and P will be considered in detail below.

⁵⁴ V/A, pp. 571-76. In the Georgian Lectionary, Hagia Sophia is the station for 7 August, 21 September and the 5th Sunday of Lent. WILKINSON contends, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 169-70, that new Sophia was not located on the site of the former church, but rather north of the Sion courtyard.

Another church that has a part in the Jerusalem stational configuration is that of the Virgin Mary called the Nea; i.e. New St. Mary's. Begun after 531 at the order of Justinian, but dedicated only in 543, it had taken twelve years to build. Its dedication day, 21 November, provides the date for the feast of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, one of the greater oriental feasts. The location of this church has recently been identified. It seems to have been an extremely large oriented church, built not far from the old Temple platform. It was destroyed by the earthquake of 746.⁵⁵

One more church, the Martyrium of St. Stephen, lay north of the city walls. Dedicated on 15 May 439, it contained the bones of Stephen, transferred there from the Sion diakonikon.⁵⁶ Eudocia, Theodosius II's sister, is said to have been responsible for its construction. It was by far the largest of all church structures in or around Jerusalem, larger even than the precincts of the Golgotha complex. Destroyed during the Persian invasion and only partially rebuilt prior to the Arab conquest of 638, it ended as only a modest oratory to which two presbyters were assigned in the early 9th century.⁵⁷

7. Summary

Jerusalem experienced enormous growth in church structures subsequent to the Constantinian settlement. The holy city was heavily subsidized by Theodosius, who appointed guardians for the holy places in 381 and also by Eudocia, sister of Theodosius II. The stational pattern, as we shall see below, evolves consistently with the construction of churches, shrines and martyria. The decisive blow to further expansion is the fall of the city to the Persians under Chosroes II. A conservative estimate of the number of people killed then is about 34,000.⁵⁸ The holy places never quite recovered despite the extensive building program under the patriarchs Modestus and Sophronius in the mid-7th century. While the Arab conquest of 638 was not nearly as destructive either in terms of lives or buildings, it did put a halt to any expansion of the Jerusalem church as a public institution. The earthquake of 746 was a final blow, destroying Justinian's greatest contribution to the city, the Nea. The Anastasis

⁵⁵ V/A, pp. 914-15. At the time that V/A were writing the Nea had not been found, but Wilkinson indicates that the remains situate this church near the SW corner of the Temple platform. *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, gazetteer, p. 166. Procopius, *Buildings*, V-6 claims that the church was incomparable. He does not discuss the interior disposition of the church but makes much of its stately exterior appearance through an atrium bordered by two hemicycles.

⁵⁶ V/A, pp. 743-748.

⁵⁷ V/A, pp. 753-55.

⁵⁸ V/A, p. 928. They add that the number of dead may have been as high as 90,000.

Typicon will show how limited the tenth century stational pattern had become compared to days of former glory.

Given this brief topographical and architectural history of the city we can now turn to the sources of this urban liturgy.

B. SOURCES FOR THE JERUSALEM STATIONAL LITURGY

1. *The Peregrinatio Egeriae*

Both before and after Constantine Palestine was a magnet that drew Christian travellers. Some forty pieces of evidence refer to pilgrimages there prior to 320.⁵⁹ A number, like that of Abgar of Edessa, were the product of fancy but the greater number were not. After the emperor's legitimization of the Christian faith the trickle of pilgrims turned into a flood, and numerous notices of travellers are documented up until the time of the Crusades and after. Two major reasons for the attractiveness of Palestine to pilgrims have been proposed. The first is that ■ the Western Mediterranean world suffered decline, the Eastern shore was vibrant.⁶⁰ The second reason ■ the identification and building of shrines at sacred sites associated with the life of Christ and with the Old Testament.⁶¹

The first extant pilgrim account is that of an anonymous traveller in the year 333, a secure dating since the pilgrim refers to consuls then in office.⁶² Journeying from Bordeaux via Constantinople and Asia Minor, this pilgrim notes a number of sites in and about Jerusalem. His account is helpful with regard to the developing topography of the holy places, but gives no indications of their relation to the practice of worship there.

The first extensive information about the relation of the sacred sites to the Jerusalem liturgy is furnished by a pilgrim nun, who visited the East some fifty years after the Bordeaux anonymous. Though the document gives no name, Egeria is the one most commonly accepted for the writer. Silvia was the name given in the first edition by Gammurini, but scholars have subsequently identified the author as the Egeria (Eucheria, Aetheria) mentioned by the seventh-century monk, Valerius. The sole extant manu-

⁵⁹ Cf. LECTERCO, "Pèlerinages," cols. 68-70.

⁶⁰ LECTERCO, "Pèlerinages" col. 66, writes: "L'Asie Mineure, la Syrie, la Palestine et l'Égypte faisaient, au IV^e siècle, l'effet d'une sorte de nouvelle terre promise aux peuples latins appauvris ou ruinés par la politique impériale et ■ menacés de plus en plus rapprochés des invasions et des établissements barbares."

⁶¹ JEROME, *Ep.* 46:13 (PL 22:400) mentions the cave ■ Bethlehem, the Mt. of Olives where Christ ascended, Samaria which has the ashes of John the Baptist, the Mausoleum of David and the tomb of Lazarus.

⁶² P. GEYER, O. CENY, eds., *Itin. Burdigalense*, p. 8. A translation of this account appears in WILKINSON, *Egeria*, pp. 153-163; cf. also Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 1-43.

⁶³ WILKINSON, *Egeria*, pp. 235-36.

script of her account, transcribed in the eleventh century most probably at Monte Cassino, was discovered at Arezzo by J. F. Gammurini in 1884 and published by him in 1887.⁶¹ It is now located in the library of the lay fraternity of Arezzo. Both its opening and closing leaves are missing, along with several leaves in the middle of the manuscript.⁶²

Egeria's travel diary, in its extant state, begins with her visit to Mount Sinai and continues with accounts of trips to Egypt, Carrae (in Mesopotamia) and Constantinople. She was greatly concerned to learn about ascetical life in the East, but the major part of the manuscript is taken up with a description of daily, weekly, and annual liturgical services in Jerusalem. The lacuna in the third quaternion of the manuscript unfortunately robs us of her description of the beginning of the celebration of Epiphany, and the manuscript breaks off near the end of her description of the feasts throughout the year, midway through the Octave of *Encaenia*.

In order to discuss adequately the evolution of the stationary character of the Jerusalem liturgy it is important to date the *Peregrinatio* accurately. Egeria's mention that Nisibis in East Syria was under the Persians provides a *terminus a quo*, since the city had been abandoned at the end of Julian's Persian campaign by his successor, Jovian, in 363.⁶³ On the other hand her descriptions of Jerusalem church buildings makes it clear that this diary could not have been written later than the reign of Justinian (527-557). Much effort has been expended in narrowing this time frame. In 1911 A. Baumstark fastened on the fact that Egeria calls the bishops of Batanis, Carrae, and Edessa, confessors.⁶⁴ The only bishops of all three cities who were confessors held their sees between 381 and 387. Thus, several hypotheses as to the date of the account can be dismissed. Among them are Morin's that Egeria was the object of Jerome's satirical attack in 393-396⁶⁵ and Dekkers' that her reference to a celebration at Bethlehem on the fortieth day after the Pascha⁶⁶ coincided with a dedication festival of the basilica there on 31 May 417. More recently P.

⁶¹ Cf. WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 7 and H. PÉTRE, *Éthérie*, p. 7 for descriptions of the manuscript.

⁶² *Itin. Eg.* 20:12: "...sed modo ibi accessus ad Romanorum non est, totum enim illud (Nisibis) Persae tenent."

⁶³ A. BAUMSTARK, "Der Alter des *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*," *OC. n.s.* 1 (1911) pp. 32-76.

⁶⁴ G. MORIN, "Un passage énigmatique de s. Jérôme contre la pèlerine espagnole Eucherie?," *RB* 30 (1913) pp. 174-186.

⁶⁵ E. DEKKERS, "De datum de *Peregrinatio Egeriae* in het feest van Ons Heer hemelvaart," *Sacris Erudiri* 1 (1948) 181-205.

⁶⁶ *Itin. Eg.* 42. This question will be taken up at greater length in chapter two. Gingras' contention that the *Peregrinatio* must have been written after 393 and more probably after 404 rests on the mistaken notion that Egeria quotes directly from Jerome's version of Eusebius' *Onomastikon*. Cf. GINGRAS, *Egeria*, pp. 13-15 and J. ZEIGLER, "Die *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* u. das *Onomastikon* des Eusebius," *Biblica* 12 (1931) pp. 70-84 as well as WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 6.

Devos has shown that in order for Egeria to arrive in Edessa for the vigil of the feast of St. Elpidius (22 April) she must have sojourned at Jerusalem in the year 384 when the Pascha fell on 24 March, thus allowing time for travel to Edessa by 22 April.⁷⁰ One can be fairly sure, then, that Egeria's pilgrimage fell between 381 and 384. Thus she is present in Jerusalem when Cyril (348-386) is bishop and her account predates the older version of the Armenian Lectionary by about thirty years.

Egeria seems to have come from somewhere near the Atlantic coast of Europe. That her starting point is Western Europe is hinted at several times in the account. The bishop of Edessa says that she has come there from the ends of the earth.⁷¹ She likens the Euphrates to the Rhone (18:2). Therefore, most commentators have assumed that this traveller comes from either Galicia (Northern Spain) or Aquitaine (now Western France). Pétre is probably correct when she asserts that Egeria must have had either means or connections or both in order to undertake such an extensive journey.⁷² The Letter of Valerius, which may well refer to her, describes her as a *virgo*,⁷³ a technical term for religious women in the fourth century. Valerius also calls her a "blessed nun."⁷⁴ The pilgrim refers to her correspondents as *dominae* (23:10) and *dominae venerabiles, sorores* (3:8). One can assume, therefore, that she was religious of some sort.

Though Egeria's account is informative it makes no pretense at being a treatise. Her use of language is often inconsistent. Furthermore, she describes services as though the reader were already familiar with them (18:2), so there must already have been many usages common to both Northern Spain or Western France and Jerusalem at this period, among them the Paschal Vigil, and the Sunday eucharist.⁷⁵ However, she is admittedly smitten with curiosity and pays close attention to detail. Hence the *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, while not a technical liturgical source, provides invaluable information as to the disposition of the Jerusalem liturgy and its stationary nature at the end of the fourth century. Her attention to detail provides a rather full picture of the mobile nature of worship in Jerusalem.

⁷⁰ DEVOS, "La date," pp. 165-94. Easter fell on 17 April in 382; on 9 April in 383; on 24 March in 384; on 13 April in 385 and on 5 April in 386. The journey to Edessa took 25 days.

⁷¹ *Itin. Eg.* 19:5, "...de extremis porro terris venives ad haec loca."

⁷² PÉTRE, *Éthérie*, p. 7.

⁷³ Cf. WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 178 for an English translation of the letter. The Latin text was originally published by Z. GARCIA, "La lettre de Valerius aux moines du Vierzo sur la bienheureuse Aetheria," *AB* 29 (1910) pp. 377-99.

⁷⁴ Cf. WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 173.

⁷⁵ For example, in describing the Sunday Eucharist in the Martyrium, or when she calls it *ecclesia major*, Egeria says: "...et sunt omnia secundum consuetudinem, qua et ubique fit die dominica." *Itin. Eg.* 25:1. Likewise, in describing the Paschal vigil: "Vigiliae autem paschales sic sunt, quemadmodum ad nos" *Itin. Eg.* 38:1.

In Egeria's description, the stationary Jerusalem liturgy is not limited to celebrating various feasts at different churches or sites. There is a mobile aspect to even the ordinary daily services within the complex of buildings around the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha.⁷⁶ This movement is always centered around the participation of the bishop in worship. No significant processional movement is ever indicated in his absence. The beginning of the daily episcopal services comes with what Egeria calls *matutini hymni*. The bishop arrives with his clergy after dawn and immediately enters the edicule of the Resurrection in the Anastasis rotunda (24:2) where the entire service takes place. So it is not stationary, nor is the service which occurs at the sixth hour. At the tenth hour, however, the hour of lamp-lighting (*lucernicon* in Greek or *Lucernare* in Latin 24:4) a large number of people (*quorum voces sunt infinitae*) assemble, and the service does not end with the dismissal from the Anastasis. Rather this is followed by a procession of the bishop and all the people into the forecourt between the rotunda and the basilica (24:7). Here in the open air before the shrine of Golgotha there is a prayer, a blessing of the catechumens, another prayer and blessing of the faithful, and a second procession, this time into the major basilica where the short stationary office is again repeated before the final dismissal.

On Sunday services are conducted differently. Matins is preceded by a resurrection vigil that is cathedral not monastic in character.⁷⁷ It is celebrated at cockcrow in the atrium before the Cross (24:8).⁷⁸ As with *Lucernare*, the service is not concluded within the Anastasis. After the Gospel of the Resurrection is read there is a procession with hymns to the atrium, where there is a psalm, prayer, blessing of the faithful and dismissal. The bishop then returns to his own lodgings and the monastic vigil, later than usual, is celebrated.

In the *Peregrinatio* the Sunday eucharist also has a mobile or stationary character. The eucharist itself takes place much as it does in the fourth century Spain or Gaul, for Egeria claims that there is nothing different about this celebration, except that, in addition to the bishop who appears last, all of the presbyters have an opportunity to preach (25:1). However, at the dismissal at the end of the celebration the faithful (but not the catechumens) accompany the bishop to the Anastasis Rotunda where "thanks are given to God" (*Primum gratiae aguntur Deo*). This follows the

intercessory "Prayer for All," a blessing, the kissing of the bishop's hand and ■ final dismissal.

The precise meaning of this text is difficult to ascertain. Some have taken the service at the Anastasis to be a second celebration of the eucharist without a reading synaxis.⁷⁹ Others see in it the celebration of a eucharist proper when the reading synaxis (*missa catechumenorum*) has already taken place in the Martyrium.⁸⁰ A third possibility is that the *gratiae aguntur* refers not to the Eucharist, but to a service of thanksgiving after the eucharist.⁸¹ Since we have no evidence for a separation of the word synaxis and eucharist proper at this time, the second solution seems dubious. In addition, the nearly contemporary *Apostolic Constitutions* has a short thanksgiving after the eucharist.⁸² A second eucharist without reading synaxis is not unheard of in Egeria.⁸³ In favor of the first theory it has been argued that the catechumens do not attend this service in the Anastasis, but since they had already been dismissed at the eucharist in the Martyrium, their absence seems logical and may merely be ■ *obiter dictum* by Egeria. All in all, it seems most reasonable to consider the service in the Anastasis as a service of thanksgiving after the eucharist, as in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. What should not be lost in this controversy is the stationary nature of the Sunday morning service at the Golgotha complex, yet another indication of the mobility of the episcopal liturgy in Jerusalem. Two factors, then, stand clear in the weekly (non-festal) Jerusalem worship services: the bishop presides at important services, and there is a great deal of movement around the buildings of the Golgotha Complex itself.

This stationary character of the late fourth-century hagiopolite cathedral liturgy can be perceived even more clearly in the festal services Egeria describes. The beginning of the liturgical year is Epiphany.⁸⁴ After a *lacuna*, the manuscript begins again with a procession (most likely from Bethlehem) to the Anastasis Rotunda before daybreak on 6 January. Here there is a brief stationary service comprising a psalm, a prayer, blessings and dismissals.⁸⁵ The *monachos* stay on in the Anastasis singing hymns, but

⁷⁶ Thus, PÉTRE is quite incorrect in maintaining that Jerusalem knew a stationary liturgy only on feast days. *Éthérie*, p. 72.

⁷⁷ Cf. MATEOS, "Vigile cathédrale," pp. 281-312.

⁷⁸ Egeria calls this "in basilica, quae est loco iuxta Anastasim, foras tamen, ubi lustraria pro hoc ipso pendebat." Obviously, for her basilica has not become a technical term. She always calls Constantine's basilica the *ecclesia* or *ecclesia maior*. PÉTRE, *Éthérie*, p. 230n. comments: "La terme de basilica est improprement appliqué ici à l'atrium déjà désigné ci-dessus par les mots *ante Crucem*."

⁷⁹ Namely, BASTIAENEN, *Observations*, p. 6, even though he recognizes that *gratiae aguntur* is not a technical term for the eucharist in the fourth century; also, CABROL, *Étude*, and E. WILKINSON, "Textkritische zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae" in *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar*, Fasc. 6, Series A, Bd. 6:1, Göteborg, 1955, pp. 13-2f; GINGRAS, *Egeria*, pp. 31f., p. 222n.

⁸⁰ LECHECO, "Bréviaire," *DACL* 1:2, col. 1268; PÉTRE, *Éthérie*, 70-71; DIX, *Shame*, pp. 437-438; MATEOS, *Vigile cathédrale*, p. 295.

⁸¹ The position taken by BLUDAU, *Pilgerreise*, p. 66, and WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 60.

⁸² *Ap. Const.* 7:26.

⁸³ On Holy Thursday, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 27:6.

⁸⁴ One can be fairly certain that Epiphany is considered the beginning of the "Liturgical Year," since there is no celebration as yet on 25 December. For confirmation see the description of the Armenian Lectionary in the next section.

the bishop and the rest of the people go home to rest. They reassemble at the beginning of the second hour in the Martyrium (25:8). The eucharist in the martyrium is followed by the usual procession to the Anastasis for the thanksgiving.

Egeria then describes the octave of Epiphany. For the next seven days the eucharist is celebrated by the bishop at the following hagiopolite churches:

Egeria - Epiphany Octave

First day	Martyrium
Second day	Martyrium
Third day	Martyrium
Fourth day	Eleona
Fifth day	Lazarium
Sixth day	Sion
Seventh day	Anastasis
Eighth day	<i>Ad Crucem</i> (atrium between Martyrium and Anastasis).

There are also eucharistic celebrations at Bethlehem on these days, but the bishop does not attend them, and therefore we do not consider them stational. Egeria makes it clear that the bishop's place is in Jerusalem for the feast (25:12).⁶⁶

On the fortieth day after Epiphany the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple is celebrated with a Eucharist in the Anastasis. We can consider this service stational because ■ receives special mention in Egeria and is celebrated by the bishop.

Egeria then describes Lent (*Quadragesima* or *Heortae*) with its special liturgical services presided over by the bishop. Throughout the whole year a eucharist at the ninth hour is held at the Sion church on Wednesdays and Fridays. During Lent, however, the eucharist is replaced by ■ service of prayer and readings (27:6). Another added service on Lenten weekdays takes place at the third hour in the Anastasis and has the same character as the sixth hour service of prayer during the rest of the year (27:4). One cannot be certain, however, that this service should be considered stational since there is no explicit mention of the bishop's presence.

⁶⁶ It is important to remember here that a stational service need not be eucharistic ■ character. We ■ already pointed out this error in the definitions of those who comment exclusively on stational liturgy at Rome, cf. Introduction, n. 5. The structure and character of the brief, commemorative stational services at Jerusalem will be discussed below in chapter two.

⁶⁷ "...quia episcopum necesse est has dies semper ■ Jerusalem tenere." BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*, p. 61 considers *tenere* as a technical term for the celebration of the eucharist ■ Egeria. Presumably, the bishop could not celebrate at Bethlehem because it was necessary to hold stational liturgies during the octave in ■ the major places of worship. There could be no stational liturgy without him.

Next Egeria describes the special services for Holy Week, which she calls Great Week. The Saturday preceding Palm Sunday has a liturgical procession from the place where Mary met Jesus (Jn 11:29) to the Lazarium in Bethany (29:6).⁶⁷ There is a commemorative service with a hymn, psalm (antiphon), reading, prayer, and blessing at the beginning of the procession. There is also singing during the procession with the bishop for the less than one kilometer's distance to the Lazarium. The service at the Lazarium has no mention of a eucharist but rather comprised hymns, psalms and appropriate readings concluding with the announcement of the upcoming Pascha by the deacon and a dismissal.

From this point on the Jerusalem services roughly match the events surrounding the passion and resurrection of Jesus. The cathedral vigil and eucharist are held as usual on Sunday morning, but as this is the *Septimana Major* (Great Week) there are two special announcements by the archdeacon before the dismissal: that there is to be an assembly each day of the week at 3 p.m. in the Martyrium and that ■ are to gather at the Eleona at the seventh hour that afternoon (30:2). The services which take place at Eleona begin with hymns, antiphons and readings within the Eleona itself. At the ninth hour there is a procession to the Imbomon, the place commemorating Christ's ascension, where hymns and psalms (*aptae loco et diei*) and readings with prayers interposed are all performed (31:1). At the eleventh hour Matthew 21:19 concerning Jesus' entry into Jerusalem is read, and then a procession with psalms accompanies the bishop down the Mt. of Olives and back into the city to the Anastasis for a late *Lucernare* and brief dismissal *Ad Crucem* (31:4).

Monday and Tuesday of Great Week follow the usual lenten daily pattern in the morning with the addition of a synaxis in the Martyrium at the ninth hour, followed by *Lucernare* in the same place. The final dismissal takes place in the Anastasis (32:1-2). Also on Tuesday night there is a service with the reading of Matthew 24:1-26:2 at the Eleona in the "cave" of the Lord's teaching (33:2). No processions are indicated, only a stational service with the bishop at the Eleona basilica itself.

The next feature in the stational organization of Great Week in Egeria's time occurs on Thursday afternoon. The assembly is held ■ the Martyrium an hour earlier than usual; the eucharist is celebrated there and is followed by another Eucharist in a place Egeria calls *Post Crucem*, which Couâsson has located next to the Martyrium (35:2).⁶⁸ As usual, the ensemble of services ends in the Anastasis, although the pilgrim does not

⁶⁷ Egeria uses the word antiphon, but since she does not distinguish hymns, psalms and antiphons, I have felt free to translate antiphon by its usual meaning in the fourth and fifth centuries as a psalm sung antiphonally; cf. MATEOS, *Vigile cathédrale*, p. 285.

⁶⁸ Apparently this is a chapel. Egeria notes that the eucharist is celebrated here only once in the year.

use the phrase *gratiae aguntur Deo* to refer to this aspect of the service. After a short meal all go to the Eleona for hymns, psalms, readings and prayers until the fifth hour of the night when there is a procession to the Imbomon.⁸⁰ Here there are more hymns, etc. until cock-crow when all descend processionally down the mountain to an *ecclesia elegans*, which marks the place where the Lord prayed during his agony (36:1).⁸¹ After a brief commemorative service the procession moves to the spot of the arrest in Gethsemane for another brief service. Finally, the procession returns to the atrium *Ad Crucem* where the gospel about Christ's trial before Pilate is read, and all are dismissed (36:1-5). This was no doubt a tiring series of religious exercises lasting from 2 p.m. until just before daybreak with only a brief meal intervening after services on Golgotha. Only a few hardy souls go to Sion for a service at the column where Jesus was scourged. The rest, like the bishop, go home to bed.

On Friday the round of services begins at the third hour when the bishop's chair is placed in the chapel *Post Crucem* and the people come to venerate the wood of the cross and other relics until about noon. At this time the bishop's chair is moved to the atrium *Ad Crucem* where a three hour service is held, comprising readings from the Prophets, Acts and Epistles, and the Passion accounts interspersed with prayers and psalms (37:1-6). At the ninth hour service of prayer is held at the Martyrium, followed by a brief service at the Anastasis commemorating the burial of Christ (37:8).

On Holy Saturday the customary Saturday morning eucharist is not held, nor is there a service at the ninth hour, in view of the impending Easter vigil. Egeria gives very few details of the vigil itself since she claims that it is celebrated just the same way as "at home." She does mention two differences, however. The first is that the newly baptized are led directly from the baptistery to the Anastasis Rotunda for a hymn and a prayer. Only then are they conducted by the bishop into the Martyrium to be greeted by the assembly at vigil awaiting their entrance for the celebration of the eucharist. In addition, for reasons Egeria does not give, there is a second celebration of the eucharist immediately after the dismissal from the Martyrium. She does, however, mention that this second eucharist is celebrated rapidly (38:1-2).

Like Epiphany, Easter has an octave at Jerusalem. Egeria gives the following stations (39:1):

⁸⁰ When she wishes to indicate a procession Egeria's term most often is "itur cum ymnis," cf. *Itin. Eg.* 35:4.

⁸¹ WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 135 translates the phrase as "graceful church."

Egeria - Easter Octave

Sunday	Martyrium
Monday	Martyrium
Tuesday	Martyrium
Wednesday	Eleona
Thursday	Anastasis
Friday	Sion
Saturday	<i>Ad crucem</i> (atrium)
Sunday	Martyrium

During this octave special services consisting of hymns and prayers are conducted each afternoon by the bishop at the Eleona church and at the Imbomon. At the end of these services there is a liturgical procession to the Anastasis for *Lucernare*. In addition, on Easter Sunday after *Lucernare* there is a procession with hymns accompanying the bishop to the Sion church where there is a service of hymns, prayer, Gospel, intercessory prayer, dismissal and blessing, commemorating Jesus' appearance to his apostles at the Upper Room. On the next Sunday, the eighth day of the Octave, there is a similar service to commemorate Thomas' profession of belief (39:3-40:2).

The next service which Egeria describes takes place on the fortieth day after Easter. It is one of the most difficult and controverted passages in the diary and is crucial to the interpretation of the historicized nature of the late fourth century hagiopolite liturgy. For this reason it will be dealt with at some length below in chapter two. Suffice it to mention here that this service, a vigil and morning eucharist, takes place on the fortieth day after Easter at Bethlehem. Again Egeria claims that the preaching is suitable to both time and place (42).

The fiftieth day after Easter is a Sunday — Pentecost. On this day the dismissal from the Martyrium takes place early, before 9 a.m. The assembly then moves in procession to Sion where a brief reading *synaxis* is conducted and the sacrifice is offered (again?).⁸² After midday a large crowd (*nullus Christianus remaneat in coivitate*) goes to the Imbomon to celebrate the ascension of Christ, with hymns, psalms, prayers and readings and from there to the Eleona where a service including *Lucernare* is held until the tenth hour. The procession then winds down the Mt. of Olives and into the Martyrium where a stational service, consisting of hymns, a prayer, and blessing is celebrated about 8 p.m. There follows similar stational services with processions to the Cross atrium, the Anastasis and finally to Sion where the last dismissal is given, around midnight (43:49).

⁸² Sion, EGERIA says, is now a church but was originally the spot where the apostles assembled after the death of Christ, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 43:2-3.

The final series of stational service described by Egeria deal with the dedication feast of the buildings at Golgotha: *Encaenia*, on 13 September.⁹² It too has an octave, in which the first and second days are celebrated in the Martyrium, the third at the Eleona. The manuscript breaks off at this point and so the rest of the octave as well as anything else Egeria might have described is lost.

Egeria's extremely valuable information regarding the mobility of the Jerusalem liturgy and the centrality of the bishop in stational services of the late fourth century is complemented by the second document relevant to this urban liturgy: the Armenian Lectionary.

2. The Armenian Lectionary

In 1905 F.C. Conybeare published an English translation of a 10th-century Armenian manuscript as an appendix to his *Rituale Armenorum*.⁹³ This manuscript, *Paris B.N. arm. 44* (henceforth P) unfortunately had a number of *lacunae*. A fuller manuscript (*Cod. Jerusalem Armenian 121*, henceforth J) of similar content was discovered by A. Renoux and published in 1961. This manuscript, copied at the Monastery of Maskevur in 1192, was discovered at the Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem.⁹⁴ It has only one *lacuna*, at the very beginning of the feast of the Epiphany.⁹⁵ Comparison of these two manuscripts will add a great deal to our knowledge of worship in Jerusalem from the beginning to the middle of the fifth century.⁹⁶

First it must be noted that the so-called Armenian Lectionary (henceforth AL) is not a real lectionary with the full text of the lessons for Sundays and feasts. Rather it indicates the proper readings and psalms by means of *incipit* and conclusion, as well as the stations for major celebrations in Jerusalem during the year. Renoux calls it a "Missal-Ordo," but more accurately it should be considered an embryonic form of the later typikon.⁹⁷

A typikon is a book of directions for liturgical ceremonies. It performs four functions. First, it is a calendar with the dates and chronology of feasts and other services throughout the year. This is done either in one continuous series, as in the AL which includes Easter within the running

calendar year, or by division into a temporal and sanctoral cycle, as in the tenth century Typikon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia).⁹⁸ Second, it indicates what the lectionary readings and psalms are to be. In the third place it is an order of service, providing directions regarding what is to be done at various special services. Finally, the typikon is a stational list, naming the places where different liturgical celebrations are to be held. This last function will be of primary interest here.

Renoux has shown that this Armenian "Lectionary" was based on a Greek original used in Jerusalem itself. The stational notices, referring exclusively to Jerusalem and its environs would alone be enough to indicate the lectionary's origin.⁹⁹ Other Armenian lectionary manuscripts contain similar data, and some seem to witness to a rather early state of affairs, but even these; e.g. *Venice 169* and *Paris B.N. arm. 110* contain feasts proper only to Armenia.¹⁰⁰ Mss. P and J will be sufficient for an understanding of the development of stational liturgy in Jerusalem up until the mid-fifth century.

The two major manuscripts of the AL witness successive stages in the development of the hagiopolite stational pattern. On the basis of the stations and feasts in the manuscripts and as well as what we know of the history of the Jerusalem Churches, Renoux dates J between 417 and 439. Ms. P, on the other hand, is dated by Renoux between 439 and 442.¹⁰¹

The unfolding of the Jerusalem stational system will be traced mainly on the basis of the older J because it contains the basic organization of the system; while differences with P will also be noted.¹⁰² An evaluation of the evolution of the Jerusalem stational pattern as a whole will be made below in chapter two.

The AL's account of the liturgical year in Jerusalem begins with the feast of Epiphany. On 5 January there is an assembly at the "Place of the Shepherds" at 4 p.m. It is a brief stational service consisting of psalm, alleluia and gospel.¹⁰³ Both P and J have *lacunae* at this point and the canon (= *ordo*)¹⁰⁴ for the vigil picks up at the end of the first reading (Gen 1:28-3:20). The vigil consists of eleven lessons from the Old

⁹² See below, chapter five.

⁹³ For further evidence of hagiopolite origin, cf. RENOUX's introduction to *Jer. Arm. 121*.

⁹⁴ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 35), p. 30.

⁹⁵ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 35), pp. 34-32.

⁹⁶ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36). Here RENOUX also uses another 10th century manuscript, *Erevan 985*. The differences between E985 and J and P are not significant enough for the purposes of this study to be noted here, cf. pp. 159-60. Whether or not P witnesses an actual state of affairs in the Jerusalem liturgy will be discussed in chapter four.

⁹⁷ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 211. RENOUX has argued elsewhere that the original Jerusalem Epiphany was exclusively a nativity feast, cf. "Epiphany," pp. 171-93.

⁹⁸ The AL uses the word "canon" to mean what *ordo* signifies: Latin; i.e. the liturgical order of a specific service, cf. *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 173.

⁹² Although, EGERIA does not give the date she says it is the very day on which the Cross was found and also the anniversary of the dedication of Solomon's Temple. *Itin. Eg.* 48:1.

⁹³ CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 507-527.

⁹⁴ RENOUX, "Manuscrit" III, 362.

⁹⁵ Cf. below in this chapter, section 4, for the tenth century Anasasis Typikon. The major piece of evidence for the liturgy of the city of Constantinople is also a typikon. It will be discussed in chapter five. On the definition of a typikon, cf. ARRANZ, "Les grandes étapes," pp. 43-44.

Testament plus a hymn.¹⁰³ A psalm, N.T. lesson and gospel follow. At this point there is another *lacuna* but it seems that the celebration of the eucharist followed in the Basilica of the Nativity, the presumed site of the vigil.

On the next morning the eucharistic assembly is held at the Martyrium in Jerusalem. As in Egeria, Epiphany has an octave with a daily celebration of the eucharist. The stational churches for the Epiphany octave in the AL are:¹⁰⁴

The Epiphany Octave

6 January	Martyrium
7 January	Martyrium of St. Stephen
8 January (a Sunday)	Martyrium
9 January	Sion
10 January	Eleona
11 January	Lazarium
12 January	Golgotha
13 January (Circumcision)	Anastasis

The AL next mentions 11 January as the commemoration of two martyrs, Peter and Abisalom, but no station is given. Presumably the celebration takes place at the Lazarium, since it falls within the octave. On 17 January the Anastasis is the station for the commemoration of St. Antony of Egypt. The emperor Theodosius, like Antony a non-martyr, is commemorated on 19 January also in the Anastasis.¹⁰⁵

"The fortieth day of the Nativity of our Savior Jesus Christ" is the title given for 14 February, with a station at the Martyrium.¹⁰⁶ The reference is to the presentation of Jesus in the Temple. Three saints' days follow in the typikon: the Forty Martyrs, at St. Stephen's Martyrium, March 9; Cyril of Jerusalem, March 18; and John of Jerusalem, March 29.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ The hymn is the "Canticle of the Three Children," Dan 3:52-90, a standard reading for the end of the vigil proper; cf. *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 215n. pp. 306-07 for the end of the paschal vigil.

¹⁰⁴ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), pp. 219-21. Whether "Holy Golgotha" means the open-air atrium called *ante Crucem* or *ad Crucem* by EGERIA, or the chapel *post Crucem* (as RENOUX asserts, p. 220n.) is not clear. Note that Egeria claimed that the eucharist was celebrated in the chapel *post Crucem* only once in the year, *Itin. Eg.* 35:1-2. The former seems more likely to me since it has already been the place shifted to from two other celebrations; namely the second celebration on Thursday of Great Week and the adoration of the Cross on the following Friday morning, cf. *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), pp. 269, 281.

¹⁰⁵ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 227.

¹⁰⁶ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 229.

¹⁰⁷ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), pp. 231, 233.

At this point Lent is inserted into the AL calendar. The readings for the nineteen catechetical lectures are given first, but not assigned to specific days. These are followed by a list of stational days with canons. The Lenten fast consists of six weeks in addition to Great Week (Holy Week). During the course of the six weeks Lent there is an assembly at Sion on Wednesdays and Friday at the tenth hour, consisting of three (in one case two) Old Testament lessons and a psalm.¹⁰⁸ During the second week there are additional stations at the Anastasis on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday at the same time and with the same order of service. Note that the afternoon Lenten stations in the AL have been moved from the ninth hour, as in Egeria, to the tenth hour, the time of *Lucernare*.

Saturday of the sixth week of Lent has a special commemoration. Called the "Sixth day before the Pasch of the Old Law,"¹⁰⁹ it is concerned with the raising of Lazarus from the dead and accords with the chronology of John 11. Egeria's preliminary station on the road to Bethany seems to have dropped out, but a stational service consisting of entrance Psalm, N.T. Lesson, Alleluia Psalm, and Gospel is still held at the Lazarium.

The next day, "The Day of Palms," is the beginning of Great Week and the Sunday eucharist is celebrated at the Martyrium. At the ninth hour the congregation climbs the Mt. of Olives with palm branches and sings and prays until the eleventh hour.¹¹⁰ Then all descend to the Anastasis singing Psalm 118 with verse 26, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord", as antiphon.¹¹¹

The early fifth century Jerusalem church knew a distinction between the Lenten and Paschal fasts, for Monday of Great Week is entitled "Monday of the fast of Pascha." On Monday the late afternoon service is held at the Martyrium. On Tuesday it is held in the Eleona, thus combining Egeria's afternoon station with the evening service held at Eleona. Thus, Egeria's station in the Martyrium on Tuesday, followed by *Lucernare* in the Anastasis, has been historicized. On Wednesday the station is again at the Martyrium, with the difference that a procession is mentioned for the reading of the gospel in the Anastasis rotunda.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ E.g., for Wednesday in the first week the reading is Exodus 1:1-2:10, 2nd reading Joel 1:14-20 and the psalm is 51 (antiphon v. 3), cf. *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 239. No canons are provided for Sundays during Lent. It is possible that the lectionary was not fixed for those days.

¹⁰⁹ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 255.

¹¹⁰ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 259. P has the service ending at the tenth hour, while J has the eleventh hour.

¹¹¹ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 259. J has Ps 108 but this is obviously a copyist's error. P has Ps 118, the psalm from which the antiphon is taken.

¹¹² *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), p. 265. Wednesday thus retains EGERIA's structure of synaxis in the Martyrium and *Lucernare* in the Anastasis.

The next three days are of more interest for the unfolding of the stational pattern. Thursday is called the "Thursday of the Old Passover." The assembly meets at the seventh hour in the Martyrium. After the "Offering" a second eucharist is offered in the atrium *Ad Crucem*.¹¹³ A procession to Sion follows, and the psalm, N.T. lesson and gospel are repeated from the earlier service. The AL does not say that this is a eucharist, but this is a possibility, especially given the eucharistic nature of the readings.

After the service at Sion there is a procession to the Mt. of Olives for *Lacénare* with a vigil there consisting of five *gobala* (three psalms covered by one antiphon) and prayer with kneeling after each. This is followed by a gospel and procession to the "Hillock" (tombon).¹¹⁴ The procession returns to the "Place of the Disciples" (Eleona) for another gospel reading and then down the mountain to Gethsemane for yet another brief stational service.¹¹⁵ Here the stational orders of J and P diverge significantly. J has a procession to the "Court of the High Priest where Peter repented" with the reading of Matthew 26:57-75. P on the other hand has the same gospel, but the procession goes straight to the atrium *Ad Crucem* whence it moves to the "Palace of the Judge" (Pilate's) for another station and then returns to the atrium. J has only one procession from the Court of the High Priest to the *Ad Crucem* with a *gobala* and gospel reading.¹¹⁶ Thus:

J	P
Gethsemane	Gethsemane
High Priest's	<i>Ad Crucem</i> atrium
<i>Ad Crucem</i> atrium	Pilate's
	<i>Ad Crucem</i> atrium

The Friday services are held on Golgotha. The wood of the Cross is adored in the *Ad Crucem* atrium until noon. This is followed by a reading synaxis comprising eight O.T. lesson, N.T. lessons, psalms, prayers, and the four passion narratives. All of the readings concern the passion and death of Christ.¹¹⁷ This service takes four hours and is followed by an assembly at the tenth hour in the Martyrium, where an afternoon office

¹¹³ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 265-269. Here there is a change from EGERIA who puts the second eucharist in the chapel post *Crucem*.

¹¹⁴ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 267, 273. By now a church had been built at the place of the Ascension, cf. P. DEVOS, "La servante de Dieu Poemenia," *AB* 87 (1969) pp. 189-212, D. argues that the church was built in the early 390's, therefore, after EGERIA's account.

¹¹⁵ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 275. This is presumably EGERIA's *ecclesia elegans*.

¹¹⁶ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 277, 279. Section 3 of this chapter will show that it is P order which is retained in the later Georgian Lectionary.

¹¹⁷ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 281-93.

similar to that of Wednesday of Great Week is performed. A procession and reading of the gospel (of Christ's entombment) in the Anastasis follows. No stational vigil is mentioned for Friday night.¹¹⁸

The canon for Saturday morning consists of a psalm and gospel in the Anastasis. The great vigil of Saturday evening begins in the Anastasis as well. After the psalmody J notes: "At the same hour they go to the Holy Martyrium and the bishop lights a lamp. And the clergy begin immediately the vigil of the holy Pascha." P, on the other hand, reads: "Then the bishop lights three lamps and after him the deacons, then the whole congregation. Then they go up to the Church."¹¹⁹ Despite these differences, the stational movement is the same; i.e., from the Anastasis to the Martyrium. The vigil has twelve lessons each followed by prayer with kneeling. J and P differ again at the end of the vigil when the bishop enters the church. J says that he enters with a great number of "the newly baptized", while P replaces "the baptized" with "many deacons". It is difficult to imagine that the short period between these two recensions of the Jerusalem typikon would have seen the disappearance of candidates for initiation, and therefore P must be an editorial error, stemming from a later copyist in Armenia at a time when candidates were rare. Both manuscripts mention that the eucharist is celebrated twice on this night, first in the Martyrium and then in the Anastasis.¹²⁰

In the morning, "the Holy Sunday of the Pascha," the eucharist is celebrated once again in the Martyrium. At the ninth hour there is a procession with psalms up to the Mt. of Olives, and then back down again to the Anastasis, and finally to Sion, as in Egeria.¹²¹ As with Epiphany, the Pascha has an octave. The stations are:¹²²

Octave of the Pascha

Sunday	Martyrium
Monday	Martyrium
Tuesday	St. Stephen's
Wednesday	Sion
Thursday	Eleona
Friday	<i>Ad Crucem</i> atrium
Saturday	Anastasis
Sunday	Martyrium

¹¹⁸ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 295.

¹¹⁹ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 297, cf. BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 58-71 for details of the unfolding of this vigil.

¹²⁰ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 307n. RENOUX suggests that this part of the typikon has been altered to suit a community with no newly baptized at the Easter Vigil, cf. BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 65-67.

¹²¹ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 311-313. The differences between Egeria and the AL here will be discussed in chapter two.

¹²² *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 313-321.

In the afternoon of the eighth day the stational procession up the Mt. of Olives and back to the Anastasis and Sion is repeated, with the exception that P has the service begin an hour earlier than J and omits the final station at Sion.¹²³ The AL then records that four mystagogical catecheses are given in the Anastasis on Monday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday of the Paschal octave. On each of these days the catechesis is given at one of the shrines within the Golgotha complex.¹²⁴

The temporal cycle of the AL is then interrupted by four commemorations: 1 May – Jeremiah, the prophet – at Anatoth;¹²⁵ 7 May – the Apparition of the Cross in the sky – *Ad Crucem*;¹²⁶ 9 May (18 May in P) – the Holy Innocents – Bethlehem; and 22 May – Constantine, emperor – Martyrium.¹²⁷

The fortieth day after Easter marks the Ascension of Christ. J is ambiguous as to the station ("At the synaxis of the Holy Ascension...") but Renoux's supplementary manuscript *Erewn* 985 gives the likely station, the Imbomon or Holy Hillock.¹²⁸ Pentecost follows ten days later. The Sunday eucharist takes place at the Martyrium with a dismissal at the third hour and a procession to Sion for a service commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit. At the tenth hour there is an assembly at the Imbomon with a triple genuflection after the service. Apparently this use of kneeling signals the close of the Paschal feast, during which kneeling at prayer was not customary. There follows an evening procession to Sion for a brief service.¹²⁹

¹²³ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 325.

¹²⁴ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 327–29. The relation between these catecheses and the stational development will be treated in the next chapter.

¹²⁵ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 333n. Anatoth is ca. 4 km. from Jerusalem, so not an unreasonable station in terms of distance from the city.

¹²⁶ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 333n. "Le 7 mai 330 apparut, au dessus du Golgotha, une grande croix lumineuse qui s'étendait jusqu'au Mont des Oliviers. C'est cet événement que commémore la fête du 7 mai."

¹²⁷ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 335, 337.

¹²⁸ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 337–339.

¹²⁹ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 339–45.

The rest of the AL is concerned with fixed commemorations, noting eight observances between 10 June and 13 September:

Date	Commemoration	Station
10 June	Deposition of Prophet Zechariah	130
14 June	Prophet Elisha	—
2 July	Ark of the Covenant	Kiriath-Jearim ¹³¹
6 July	Deposition of the Prophet Isaiah	—
1 August	The Maccabees	—
15 August	Mary, the Mother of God	"the second mile from Bethléhem" ¹³²
23 August	Thomas, the Apostle	Bethpage ¹³³
29 August	St. John the Baptist	—

Encaenia, the dedication of the complex at Golgotha in 335 falls on September 13. The AL does not treat the feast as an octave but gives only two days of celebration: the first day at the Anastasis and the second at the Martyrium, giving the same canon for both days. On 14 September there is a veneration of the Cross, but there is no mention of the Cross in the canon for the feast. Sozomen, however, writing in the mid-fifth century, mentions that the Jerusalem Encaenia is a splendid octave during which time initiation may be performed.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 345. 27 June in P, apparently an error since P follows the same order here as J.

¹³¹ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 349n. Renoux suggests that the Jerusalem church may well have celebrated this feast within the city given the distance to Kiriath-Jearim, 15 km. from the city.

¹³² *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 355n. Renoux argues against 15 August as a dedication feast. For him the AL provides a hint as to the reason chosen for this date. It is in error here by indicating that the *Kathisma* is at the 2nd mile from Jerusalem. Texts in the canon show that the feast deals with the Motherhood of God not with the koimesis or falling-asleep of the Virgin; the canon has: entrance ps. 130, ant. v.8, Isaiah 7:10–16a; Galatians 3:29–4:7, Alleluia Ps. 110, and Luke 2:1–7. The Church of the Theotokos was at the third mile from Bethlehem (as in ms. P) and was built during Juvenal's episcopacy (422–458).

¹³³ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 357. P has August 24 and adds "other saints."

¹³⁴ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 361–363; SOZOMEN, HE II:26 (= PG 67:1008–1009).

There are six more commemorations given in the AL. These are:

Date	Commemoration	Station
15 November	Philip, the Apostle	—
30 November	Andrew, the Apostle	— ¹³³
23 December	James & David	Sion ¹³⁴
27 December	Stephen, Protomartyr	(Diakonikon of Sion)
28 December	Peter & Paul	—
29 December	John, the Apostle	— ¹³⁵

All in all we have evidence of eighty-one stational notices in the early fifth-century hagiopolite liturgy. These notices, including a number of saint's days, provide a considerable complement to Egeria's description of the same urban liturgy in the late fourth century.

3. The Georgian Lectionary

Our focus now shifts from the fifth century to a document (or rather series of documents) witnessing a later development of the Jerusalem liturgy. Like the AL, the Georgian Lectionary is not strictly speaking a lectionary, but a typikon pieced together from a series of gap-filled manuscripts by M. Tarchnišvili.¹³⁶ Some of these were originally edited in 1912 by C. S. Kekelidze.¹³⁷ Since the GL is of the same genre as the AL there is no need to describe its form here. The GL witnesses a much more extensive calendar than the AL with commemorations for almost every day of the year. Since so many manuscripts are used in the compilation of the GL, it is impossible to date it as accurately as the AL. This section will deal, then, with a description of the contents of the Georgian typikon, its date and finally its outstanding stational features.

Tarchnišvili used four major and five minor fragments to construct a complete typikon. All four major manuscripts were copied in the tenth to

eleventh centuries. The first, *Ms. Paris BN georgian 3*, is a miniscule from the 10–11th centuries, containing 387 sheets of parchment out of probably 456 sheets in its original state.¹⁴⁰ The second source is *Ms. Sinai Georgian 37 (Cagarelli 30)*, a majuscule of 294 sheets of parchment, whose colophon dates it to 982. This manuscript contains the canons for Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Great Week, Easter and ordinations.¹⁴¹ The third manuscript was copied by the same scribe who copied *Sinai 37*, and hence stems from the tenth century. It contains 322 sheets (out of an original 654) and is called the *Ms. of Lathul*.¹⁴² The final extensive source for the GL is the *Ms. of Kala*, another majuscule of the tenth century, containing 174 sheets of parchment.¹⁴³ The earliest fragment used by Tarchnišvili, referred to as *Gr*, is from the University of Graz (Austria) and dates from the beginning of the seventh century. It contains only gospels for Easter and its octave Sunday with an epistle and gospel for the Feast of the Apparition of the Cross (3 May).¹⁴⁴ This source confirms the origins of the Georgian version of the hagiopolite stational system prior to the eighth century.

Tarchnišvili does not undertake a discussion of the date of the liturgy witnessed in his edition of the GL. However, H. Leeb in his book on music in the Jerusalem cathedral liturgy, shows that the GL represents a stage of development between the AL and the Anastasis Typikon, which will be the final source considered in this chapter.¹⁴⁵ The latest saint witnessed by the typikon is Abo of Tiflis (d. 786). Leeb concludes that it is reasonable to date the major sources of the GL as witnessing the Jerusalem liturgy between the late fifth and the eighth centuries.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, since the GL's stational pattern reveals an obvious dependence on the Jerusalem system, the GL also represents a translation of a Greek source with some additional Georgian material.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ GL I:1, p. vi.

¹⁴¹ GL I:1, p. vii.

¹⁴² GL I:1, pp. viii–ix.

¹⁴³ GL I:1, p. x.

¹⁴⁴ GL I:1, pp. xi–xii. Cf. M. TARCHNIŠVILI, *Geschichte der altgeorgischen Literatur* (= ST 185), Rome, 1955. Another ms. giving some indications of Jerusalem stations, but which will not be treated here because it is considerably byzantinized is *Ms. Sinai Georgian 34*, a majuscule of the 10th century, cf. GRANT, *Calendrier*. The stational disposition witnessed in this manuscript corresponds closely to that of the GL.

¹⁴⁵ *Gesänge*, p. 23. Leeb comments: "Sonst ist das Georgische Lektionar der letzte Zeuge einer eigenständigen 'vorbyzantinischen' Stadtliturgie Jerusalems." By prebyzantine is meant before Constantinopolitan influence becomes evident in this liturgy. Usually one refers to the 4th–11th centuries as the Byzantine period in Jerusalem. Of course, Byzantine control ended with the Arab conquest of 634.

¹⁴⁶ *Gesänge*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁷ *Gesänge*, p. 30. "Das Georgische Lektionar wurde aus einer griechischen Vorlage übersetzt, da in Jerusalem der Gemeindegottesdienst in griechischer Sprache gefeiert wurde." On the sanctoral commemorations in the GL, cf. BAUMSTARK, "Ausstrahlungen."

¹³³ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 363–365. Ms. P also indicates after the latter feast a canon for "the dedication of all altars." RENOUX notes that this may be an occasional celebration.

¹³⁴ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36). P adds "On this day, in other cities, they celebrate the Nativity of Christ." RENOUX argues, p. 367, that the day originally commemorated the two patriarchs Jacob and David. P changes the chronological sequence and has David and James, the first bishop of the Jerusalem community. The Armenian church has never adopted Christmas on 25 December. Jerusalem adopted the date only in the 6th century, after a brief period in the 5th century.

¹³⁵ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 369, 371, 373.

¹³⁶ GL.

¹³⁷ C. S. KEKELIDZE, *Jerusalimskij Kanonar XII veka*, Tiflis 1912. This edition was compiled from the two lacuna-filled manuscripts of Kala and Lathul.

The extensive calendar of the GL witnesses a significant evolution from the fifth-century stage of hagiopolite liturgy that we have just surveyed in the Armenian Lectionary. In the first place there are a great number of saints added to the yearly list of commemorations, many with station notices. However, it seems best to concentrate on only the more important feasts here, since many of these commemorations may not have been stational in the sense of city-wide, and we have no indications that the bishop presided over them.

The calendar begins not on the Epiphany but rather with a new date for the birth of Christ, 25 December, already acknowledged obliquely in the AL. A preliminary service is celebrated on 24 December at the sixth hour "at the Shepherds." It is followed by *Lucernare* at the Basilica of the Nativity.¹⁴⁸ At midnight there is a vigil. No station is given, but it probably takes place in the same basilica. Ten lessons from the O.T. are provided. They are in the same sequence and have virtually the same content as those in the AL. The text indicates a hiatus between the "morning office," as the vigil is called, and the eucharistic liturgy: After the gospel they make intercessions with prayer and complete the morning office. In the liturgy the same troparion is used.¹⁴⁹

It seems, therefore, that the eucharist followed immediately upon the vigil. No mention is made of a morning eucharist at the Martyrium, and no octave is given for the celebration of the feast.

Since Christmas has displaced it, the commemoration of David and James moves to December 26 but the station remains at Sion.¹⁵⁰ Stephen is commemorated the next day at the diakonikon of Sion.¹⁵¹ The new nativity feast of Christ caused another shift, for the Circumcision no longer marks the end of the Epiphany octave, but is now celebrated on 1 January. The GL gives no station.¹⁵²

The celebration of Epiphany begins at 3 p.m. on 5 January. The only place indication is *ad portas ecclesiae*, probably the Martyrium since the vigil has taken on a clearly baptismal character. The service is

¹⁴⁸ GL 1:2, pp. 9-13. This *Lucernare* has the structure of a reading synax for the Eucharist rather than that of vespers. It has a troparion, ps. verse, 2 readings, Alleluia psalm and gospel rather than the ordinary GL order of Ps. 140, evening hymn (*phos hilaron*?), poetic strophe, psalm, prayer, *kataxionon*, poetic strophe and trisagion. A possible solution might be to view this service more as a stational service than a *Lucernare*. LEBB outlines the ordinary stational service of the GL as follows: Prayer, psalm, reading, Alleluia, gospel, prayer, procession, cf. LEBB, *Gesänge*, pp. 38, 147, 269.

¹⁴⁹ GL 1:2, p. 13. *Kvereri* here is a difficult term for which no precise translation has been found. BERTONIKH, *Easter Vigil*, p. 35, suggest that it is related etymologically to the Greek *Keruxis*, hence "announcement" and finally "a number of intercessions followed by prayer."

¹⁵⁰ GL 1:2, p. 14.

¹⁵¹ GL 1:2, p. 15.

¹⁵² GL 1:2, p. 18.

a combination of *Lucernare* with the eucharist immediately following the *Phos hilaron*. Then comes a service for the blessing of water which evidently involves a procession.¹⁵³

At midnight there is a vigil with nine lessons plus the canticle from the Book of Daniel. Thus the usual Jerusalem vigil has lost one lesson for the Epiphany. In addition, only the first and third readings are the same as those indicated in the AL.¹⁵⁴ Therefore the former Epiphany sequence of readings shifted to Christmas, while a new set of lessons was developed for a more baptismally centered vigil of the Epiphany. This disassociation of the nativity theme from Epiphany also makes it all the more likely that the locus of celebration has been shifted to the Jerusalem *ecclesia* - the Martyrium. A pragmatic factor may have been the difficulty of holding services in Bethlehem (six miles from the city) twice within two weeks, hence a change in the stational disposition.

Epiphany, however, does retain an octave in the GL. The stational arrangement is:¹⁵⁵

GL — Epiphany Octave

First day	Martyrium
Second day	Anastasis
Third day	Sion
Fourth day	Nea
Fifth day	St. John Baptist's ¹⁵⁶
Sixth day	St. Stephen's Martyrium
Seventh day	Golgotha
Eight day	Anastasis

The next feast related to the Nativity cycle is *Hypapante*, the Presentation of Jesus, now celebrated on 2 February.¹⁵⁷ The station is not given although it was probably the Martyrium or the Anastasis. A new feast added to the cycle on 25 March is the Annunciation. Once again there is no stational indication.

On March 14 there is a notice in the GL that seems out of place since it mentions Palm Sunday. Tarchinišvili translates it thus:

¹⁵³ GL 1:2, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁴ A comparative table of these readings is provided in the appendices.

¹⁵⁵ GL 1:2, pp. 25-27. The stational evolution represented by this octave and other days in the GL will be treated below in chapter two. However, note that the *Cazarium* and *Eleona* have been dropped as stations.

¹⁵⁶ A new church relative to the AL, cf. John WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 162. This church lay to the N. of the city, E. of St. Stephen's Martyrium.

¹⁵⁷ GL 1:2, p. 34.

Mense Martio XIV. Sancti Alexandri et Agapii, Magnum Martyrium quod fuit die Palmarum plenum omne amaritudine super viros et mulieres, adultos et parvulos. Totum sanctorum; oportet sacrificium missae offerre et vacare negotiis.¹⁵⁸

This notice is odd in that it comes both before the typikon's information on Lent and out of chronological sequence between 23 and 25 March. It is possible that Palm Sunday and 14 March coincided in a year that this particular manuscript of the GL was witnessing. Another possible interpretation may be that this is a lament for a church that had once thrived (*plenum omne amaritudine*).

In the GL Lent and the Easter cycle are inserted between March and April. Lent here consists of two pre-Lenten weeks, six weeks of the Lenten fast and the Great Week. Therefore, Lent proper has the same duration as in the AL. The first pre-Lent week begins with "Meatfare Sunday" (*Dominica in carnis ablatione*). Four canons with stations are given for the week:¹⁵⁹

Tuesday	Anastasis
Wednesday	Sion
Thursday	Golgotha
Friday	Sion

This is fundamentally the same stational disposition as that of the second week of Lent in the AL. No stations are indicated for "Cheese-fare week," the second pre-Lent week. During Lent the following stations are mentioned:¹⁶⁰

GL — Lenten Weekday Stations

First Week	Monday	Anastasis
	Tuesday	Anastasis
	Wednesday	—
	Thursday	Anastasis
	Friday	Sion
Second Week	Monday	Anastasis
	Tuesday	Anastasis
	Wednesday	Sion
	Thursday	—
	Friday	Sion

¹⁵⁸ GL 1:2, p. 40. "March 14. (The commemoration of) Sts. Alexander and Agapetus. The Great Martyrium, because it was the day of Palms (was) filled with great sadness among men, women and children. Common of the saints. The sacrifice is offered and all businesses are closed."

¹⁵⁹ GL 1:2, p. 43.

¹⁶⁰ GL 1:2, pp. 43-79.

Third Week	Monday	Anastasis
	Tuesday	Sion
	Wednesday	Sion
	Thursday	Sion
	Friday	Sion
Fourth Week	Monday	Sion
	Tuesday	Sion
	Wednesday	Sion
	Thursday	Sion
	Friday	Sion
Fifth Week	Monday	—
	Tuesday	Sion
	Wednesday	—
	Thursday	Sion
	Friday	Sion
Sixth Week	Monday	—
	Tuesday	Anastasis
	Wednesday	Sion
	Thursday	—
	Friday	Anastasis

Special mention is made of a eucharistic celebration at the Lazarus commemoration at Bethany ■ Saturday of the sixth week of Lent.¹⁶¹

On Palm Sunday the station is at the Martyrium. The eucharist is celebrated at 9 a.m. On Sunday a short office of kneeling, prayers and psalms precedes the blessing of the palms, which had been placed on the altar during the preceding evening's *Lucernare*, and is followed by a reading of Jn 12:12-22. A procession to Gethsemane follows, where there is an office identical to the one which had been held in the Martyrium, except that the gospel reading is Lk 19:29-38. The procession then returns to the city making its way to the Church by the Probatic Pool. The office is repeated, this time with Mk 11:1-10 at its conclusion. The procession with Ps 118:26 as antiphon finally returns *ad Catholicam*.¹⁶² The eucharist is celebrated. At this celebration Mt 21:1-17, is read.

The typikon describes the offices for the first three days of Great Week in brief fashion. *Lucernare* takes place at Sion on Monday, at the Anastasis on Tuesday and at the Martyrium on Wednesday.¹⁶³ There is an office for the penitents *ad portas ecclesiae* at the third hour on Thursday. The same church, the Martyrium, is again the station at the ninth hour, when the eucharist, now with a ceremony of the washing of the feet, is

¹⁶¹ GL 1:2, pp. 86-81.

¹⁶² GL 1:2, p. 83. The GL almost always refers to the Martyrium as the *Catholica*.

¹⁶³ GL 1:2, pp. 84-89.

celebrated. There is no mention of a second eucharist nor of a station at Sion.¹⁶⁴

After the eucharist a vigil is held at the *Matheteion*, (formerly called the Eleona) until midnight. At this point, there is a brief service and procession to the *Imbomon* with yet another service. The procession then proceeds down to the Mount of Olives to Gethsemane for another service and then to the Church of St. Peter. After another service they process to the Church of the Holy Wisdom, where a stational service is performed at the traditional site of the Praetorium.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the stational disposition of the AL has been retained except for the addition of the Hagia Sophia station and the last station of the night held at Sion instead of *Ad Crucem*.

On Good Friday there is no mention of the adoration of the wood of the Cross. There is a synaxis at noon in the Cross atrium with the same content as that of the AL, but the readings from the synoptic passion narratives have been shortened. The commemoration of Christ's burial follows. It is not held in the Anastasis but rather in the atrium. Here the typikon reads: "And after this they begin to wash the cross, and when they have washed it they kiss it..."¹⁶⁶ The adoration of the Cross has thus been integrated into the afternoon service, together with the curious ceremony of the washing of the Cross – perhaps a throwback to the capture of the wood of the Cross during the Persian invasion of 614.

On Holy Saturday the Martyrium is the setting for a morning service together with an additional stational service. Vespers is the beginning of the great vigil for which the typikon reads:

When the sun has set, they assemble in the holy Anastasis, close the doors, prepare three thuribles and make intercessions and prayer.¹⁶⁷

There follows a three-fold perambulation and censing of the church, a blessing of the new candle, of the candles held by all the faithful, the opening of the doors and procession to the Martyrium. This vigil, like that of the AL, contains twelve lessons. Baptisms are performed while the lessons are being read. There is no indication of a second celebration of the Eucharist, as there is in Egeria and the AL.

The eucharistic celebration for the Sunday of the Resurrection is held at the Martyrium. After this there is a procession to Sion, which seems also to be the locus of *Lucernare*. All other Easter Sunday stations have been dropped.¹⁶⁸ Stations are provided for the octave as follows:¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ GL I:2, pp. 90-92.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, gazetteer, "Praetorium," p. 168.

¹⁶⁶ GL I:2, p. 105. The entire Good Friday synaxis is given from pp. 95-106.

¹⁶⁷ GL I:2, p. 107.

¹⁶⁸ GL I:2, pp. 114-116.

¹⁶⁹ GL I:2, pp. 117-120.

Easter Octave – Georgian Lectionary

Sunday	<i>in Catholica (Martyrium)</i>
Monday	Anastasis
Tuesday	Sion
Wednesday	Sion
Thursday	—
Friday	Golgotha
Saturday	(—)
Sunday	<i>in Catholica (?)</i>

For the first time a Jerusalem typikon notes stations outside of the octave and during the Paschal season: Monday, second week – St. John Baptist's; Tuesday – Anastasis; Wednesday – St. Stephen's; Saturday – Probatic Pool. In the third week there is a station at Bethlehem commemorating the Holy Innocents, which had been a fixed feast in the AL. For the fourth week of Easter the station is: Wednesday – Sion; and for the 7th week: Friday – Golgotha.¹⁷⁰

On Pentecost the synaxis is held at the Martyrium with a stational service at the ninth hour "at the place of the Ascension," which includes the office of triple genuflection closing the Paschal feast. It is followed by a final station at the Anastasis.¹⁷¹

The typikon then returns to the monthly calendar for April. Saints are listed for commemoration on almost every day. Few stations are mentioned. Among them the Anastasis, Martyrium, and Matheteion predominate. One major change from the earlier stational disposition is that a synaxis is held at the church of the Kathisma, three miles from Bethlehem on 13 August as a dedication feast. On the 15th of the month the *koimesis* of the Virgin is held at the Church of the Dormition, constructed by the Emperor Maurice in Gethsemane.¹⁷² *Encaenia* is celebrated at the Anastasis on 13 September. An octave is indicated, but there are so many *lacunae* that it is not possible to discern the content of the celebration on 14 September. Only two stations are known: 15 September – Sion; and 16 September – the Nea, as a dedication feast.¹⁷³

Thus the GL, which reflects hagiopolite liturgy between the fifth and eighth centuries, indicates a considerable change in the stational practice as

¹⁷⁰ GL I:2, pp. 120-131.

¹⁷¹ GL I:2, pp. 135, 138.

¹⁷² GL II:2, p. 27.

¹⁷³ GL I:2, pp. 36-40. There is some confusion here as to the nature of this dedication feast, for the typikon gives on 20 November: "In Deum amantis Justiniani regis aedificio, in Dei Genetrix ecclesia, dedicatio." p. 52. This feast later becomes the popular oriental celebration of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple. The gospel given for the latter feast is the same as that given for 11 September, the fifth day of the *Encaenia* octave, not for 16 September, the fourth day.

well as a much more elaborate liturgical calendar. The implications of the evolution from the mid-fifth century will be studied in chapter two.

4. *The Anastasis Typikon*

Just as the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries are really *typika*, so also the Anastasis Typikon is really much more like the Triodion, for it contains readings and hymnody as well as stational and liturgical directions.

The Anastasis Typikon, a complete order of service for Holy Week in Greek, is contained in Ms. Hagios Stauros 43, first edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1894.¹⁷⁴ This typikon provides the last evidence of the liturgical disposition of the hagiopolite stations prior to the Crusades. Given the fact that Jerusalem had long been under Muslim control, it should come as no surprise that the stational pattern has been severely limited.

The *Lucernare* for Palm Sunday takes place at the Anastasis as does *orthros* the following morning. At the end of *orthros* there is a procession to Golgotha and incensation of the Cross. The procession returns to the Anastasis from which a procession begins up the Mount of Olives to Bethany, although the text indicates that the procession actually forms for its descent down the Mount at the Imbomon. This procession winds down the mount to the Virgin's church at Gethsemane where there is a stational service and proceeds to the Church at the Probatic Pool. From there it goes to the Martyrium through the Propylaeum to the East, and finally to the Cross atrium (here called the Holy Garden), where the palm branches are strewn and a litany intoned. The eucharistic liturgy of St. James follows in the Martyrium. After this there is a procession to the Anastasis, brief office and dismissal.¹⁷⁵ Vespers in the afternoon includes a procession to Golgotha.

On Monday of Holy Week there is a procession at the end of *orthros* to the Cross atrium, where the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel is read. Vespers is held in the Martyrium, followed by a station in the Anastasis and the Liturgy of the Presanctified.¹⁷⁶ Tuesday morning the same order is followed, but the Gospel of Luke is read. At the ninth hour on Tuesday there is a procession to the Matheteion, where there is a stational service

that includes the apocalyptic discourse from Matthew. Vespers is celebrated at the Anastasis and again followed by the Liturgy of the Presanctified.¹⁷⁷ The Monday order holds for Wednesday as well with the exception of the reading of Mark's Gospel after *orthros*.¹⁷⁸

On Holy Thursday the patriarch and his clergy hold the morning service in the Anastasis, but the monks have their service at a monastery nearby to Sion (*Hagiasionita*). The whole of John's Gospel is read. The typikon indicates that the station for *Lucernare* may be either the Cross atrium or Sion. After *Lucernare* the consecration of chrism takes place either in the Martyrium or at Sion. In any case, if the earlier service has been held at Golgotha, the patriarch then proceeds to Sion for the Eucharist, while some of the clergy remain at the Martyrium to celebrate the Liturgy of St. James.¹⁷⁹ After the patriarch's supper there takes place the washing of the feet in the upper story (*hyperoon*) of Sion.

The "Office of the Passion" begins after the footwashing at Sion. There is a procession to the foot of the Mt. of Olives to 'Ayia Proskúptōn, a stational service there, and then a procession to the Church of Peter's Repentance followed by a station and procession back to Gethsemane.¹⁸⁰ The procession finally returns to the city for a station at the Lithostratos at *Hagia Sophia*.

On Friday morning the assembly gathers at the Cross, specifically at the *omphalos* in the middle of the atrium, and then goes to the shrine of the Cross itself. The patriarch retrieves the wood of the Cross from the Chapel of Angelic Victory behind Golgotha and there is a procession to the "Holy Prison" south of the atrium and east of the baptistery. There then takes place "the mixture of the holy leaven" and an office of twelve *tróparia* followed by a procession to the Anastasis and distribution of the leaven. The dismissal follows, but the monks vigil in the Anastasis during the whole night. The stational service with patriarch in attendance has lasted from the third to the ninth hour.¹⁸¹

On Holy Saturday morning *orthros* is held in the Anastasis and at the ninth hour *Lucernare* begins. In contrast to the order in the GL, this typikon has a three-fold incensation of the entire complex of buildings. The holy fire is then retrieved from the edicule of the Resurrection within the Anastasis and all process to the Martyrium. Baptisms are provided for during the vigil, followed by the eucharist in the Martyrium and a second

¹⁷⁴ A translation of the full title reads: "Order of the holy services of the Great Week of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the ancient practice of the Jerusalem Church, which takes place in the Church of the Anastasis." Many excerpts are given in Thibaut, *Ordre des offices*, and VLA, *Jérusalem*.

¹⁷⁵ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 2-22. Note that this is the first explicit mention in our sources of a litany in connection with the Jerusalem stational services.

¹⁷⁶ *Anastasis Typikon*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁷ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 59, 63.

¹⁷⁸ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 75, 81.

¹⁷⁹ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 96, 105.

¹⁸⁰ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 117-119. If this church be the same as that referred to in the AL as "domus ubi Calaphae fuit," then the processional route is rather circuitous. Perhaps, however, it was the church called "the Conversion of St. Peter" in Gethsemane itself.

¹⁸¹ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 130-146.

celebration in the Anastasis.¹⁸² Several changes in the Easter vigil should be noted in the development from the Georgian Lectionary to the Anastasis Typikon. In the first place vespers and the vigil proper have been thoroughly combined with the lamp-lighting coming after the O.T. readings. Second, the readings from the O.T. now take place before the bishop begins the baptisms. On Easter Sunday morning *orthros* and the eucharist are celebrated in the Anastasis. Vespers are celebrated at Sion.¹⁸³ The only remaining stational indication for the octave is a procession to Sion after *orthros* on Tuesday morning, presumably for the eucharist.¹⁸⁴

The stational pattern of the Jerusalem liturgy has now been surveyed from the fourth to the tenth centuries. In the next chapter we shall interpret the development of this pattern in the urban context of Jerusalem.

¹⁸² On these changes in the Anastasis Typikon, cf. BRIDONCÉ, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 27-71, for a full description of the Vigil in the Typikon, cf. THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*, pp. 125-127.

¹⁸³ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 179-188.

¹⁸⁴ *Anastasis Typikon*, pp. 189, 203. N.B. There is no procession to the Mount of Olives

CHAPTER TWO

THE STATIONAL LITURGY OF JERUSALEM

The topographical and liturgical evidence surveyed in previous chapter demonstrates that the Jerusalem liturgy was a mobile system of worship with two main *foci*: the bishop of the city and the sacred sites of Christianity. On the basis of this evidence we now turn to (a) the origins of the hagiopolite stational practice and pattern, (b) the evolution of the pattern from the fourth to the tenth centuries, and (c) the question of "historicization" and the liturgy of Jerusalem.

A. THE ORIGINS OF THE HAGIOPOLITE STATIONAL PATTERN

1. *Origins*

The first major topographical development of sites for Christian worship in Jerusalem took place in the fourth century after the Constantinian settlement. Two figures stand out in this development: Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem.¹ Both bishops helped to create not only an ecclesiastical-topographical arena but also the idea of a "Holy Land," for they were dealing with a situation in Jerusalem and its environs that was heavily laden with symbolic associations to the major events in the life of Jesus and the early Church, and at the same time a relative blank page as far as specific liturgical developments were concerned.

However, the sacred topography was the only cause for the development of the hagiopolite stational system of worship, for the seeds had already been sown in the public nature of the cult. Christian *ekklesiai* were straining to "go public" even before the middle of the 3rd century when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to Fabius of Antioch that the

¹ WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 12. In a later work, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 15, Wilkinson stresses the importance of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* for pilgrims travelling in Palestine: "Pilgrimage was thus based not on an entirely imaginary topography of the Holy Land, but on one which began, so far as we are able to judge, in a reasonably accurate form. Moreover, the 4th century topography was not forgotten, and, despite many additions, is largely followed by pilgrims to this day."

members of his community had to hide out during the Decian persecution, ca. 250.² The aftermath of the persecution was a period of relative calm for Christians throughout the Eastern part of the Empire. Eusebius claims that they took advantage of this relative freedom prior to the Diocletian persecution:

But how can anyone describe those vast assemblies, and the multitudes that crowded together in every city, and the famous gatherings in the houses of prayer; on whose account not being satisfied with the ancient buildings they erected from the foundation large churches in all the cities.³

The large numbers of Christians throughout the empire and even within the army vitiates the idea of a small huddled and fearful group of Christians prior to the Constantinian liberation. Even so it is not possible to discover precisely how vast the assemblies were or how large the churches. At the end of the third century, however, we know that Diocletian was disturbed by the sight of a Christian basilica near the imperial palace at Nicomedia.⁴ Eusebius, who had every reason to exaggerate the situation under Constantine, gives the lie to the perception of Christianity as a "catacomb religion" prior to the fourth century. At the same time the final relaxation of persecution did cause great exuberance. Eusebius describes great crowds processing through highways and market places "praising God with hymns and psalms."⁵ The relaxation of persecution meant that Christians were free to take to the streets, and after the first decade of the fourth century such public manifestations were permanently legitimized.

Some of the character of this publicity and enthusiasm is manifested in Eusebius' panegyric at the dedication of the basilica at Tyre in 315 at the very end of the persecutions in the East. Eusebius calls this church "the new city of God,"⁶ a magnificent temple of the highest God, corresponding to the pattern of the greater as a visible to the invisible."⁷ He makes much of the lofty vestibule and grand entrances, especially of the royal door in the center of the nave facing east. Though protected by a precinct wall, the building was accessible to sight and to entering by way of procession.

² EUSEBIUS, HE VI: 41:8. "And there was no street, nor public road, nor lane open to us by night or day, for always and everywhere all of them cried out that if anyone would not repeat their impious words, he should immediately be dragged away and burned." It seems likely that Dionysius is referring to the fact that Christians had been able previously to "go public" else how would they be recognizable?

³ HE VIII: 1:5.

⁴ LACTANTIUS, *De Moribus persecutorum* 12; (ANF VII, p. 305; SC 39, p. 91).

⁵ HE X: 1:4.

⁶ HE X: 11:7. DUCHESNE, *Christian Worship*, p. 400 marks this as the beginning of the shift from the concept *domus ecclesiae* to *domus Dei*.

⁷ HE X: 4:26.

Therefore some twenty years prior to the dedication of the major Constantinian basilicas there was an intense desire to "show Christianity off". What changed in the intervening years was that this religion's glory was now part of the emperor's personal triumph. The public nature of the Christian cult now needed an effective means of organizing public worship.⁸ The first order of business was to overpower non-Christian forms of worship. Wilkinson describes this process:

In supplanting the cults which preceded them, the Christians saw themselves as a triumphant army overpowering the idols of paganism, but by the very form of their victory they were adopting the idiom of those they had conquered.⁹

It is difficult to see how it could have been any other way. To imagine that such a large-scale religious manifestation would not become part and parcel of the social order at this time, or that it would fail to remain so as long as the imperial *mythos* was sustained, would be totally anachronistic. In the transformation from being a threat to the public order to being its legitimator, Christianity was destined to perform a function similar to that of the pagan civil religious establishment it replaced. Therefore, the grove of Thammuz and the Temple of Venus, both built to wipe away Christian veneration in the first place, were destroyed to make way for the basilica at Bethlehem and the Golgotha complex.¹⁰ Once there were a number of buildings to signify the Christian ascendancy it was possible to organize a system of worship on a civic scale to enhance further the religion's visibility and importance. The yearning for such visibility was not new, but its organization was.

There seem to have been three guiding principles around the organization of stational worship at Jerusalem: the daily/weekly cycle of services, the initiatory polity of the community, and the combination of space and time in the celebration of certain feasts. One cannot be certain that it was Cyril himself who was responsible for this organization in the course of his long and stormy episcopate (348-387). However, the stational system does seem to have been very well developed by the time he died.

⁸ This emphasis on the public nature of the Christian cult originating in the 3rd and not only the 4th century may seem awkward because of the constant emphasis on the *disciplina arcani* to be found in many authors. I do not mean to argue that such a discipline did not exist. Certainly the elaborateness of rites of initiation bars that conclusion. However, it could not be secret in a religious movement that sought converts. Therefore, the *disciplina arcani* and the publicity of the Christian cult stood in tension.

⁹ WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 34. This adaptation of the pagan idiom will be such even more clearly in discussion of the Roman stational liturgy (chapter four) and of liturgical processions (chapter seven).

¹⁰ EUSEBIUS, VC III: 26,41; cf. also JEROME, *Ep.* 58 (CSEL 54, p. 532).

Let us consider, then, each of the guiding principles in the early development of stationary worship in turn. First with regard to the daily/weekly cycle of liturgical services, we find considerable processional movement at the end of *Lucernare* as described by Egeria. This is not indicated in any previous piece of evidence. However, Cyril's catechetical lectures¹¹ do show a sensitivity to the significance of employing different sites. The pre-baptismal candidates hear the lectures in the Martyrium,¹² whereas the neophytes will hear the mystagogical lectures in the Anastasis rotunda.¹³ In addition to referring to the Martyrium ("this Holy Golgotha") and to the Anastasis, Cyril also mentions Sion, where the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles, and the Mt. of Olives (as the place of the ascension).¹⁴ By mid-century, then, there was a conscious awareness of these sites for piety if not for liturgy. But holding the former lectures in the Martyrium and the latter in the Anastasis does show some desire to use the places to their best dramatic advantage.

The connection of Sion with the stationary fast days of Wednesday and Friday in Egeria raises the possibility that moving to and from Sion was a long-standing practice, since Sion was most probably the Christian center of the city prior to the dedication of the Golgotha buildings in 336. Moreover, with regard to candidates for baptism, entrance into the Anastasis may well have provided an element of mystery and importance.

¹¹ By catechetical lectures is meant the series of nineteen pre-initiatory lectures that Cyril delivered ca. 350. There is another series of post-baptismal lectures (mystagogy) commonly attributed to Cyril, but which W. SWAANS "A propos des 'Catéchèses Mystagogiques' attribuées à S. Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 55 (1942), pp. 1-43 has argued ought more properly be attributed to Cyril's successor, John (386-417). Cf. TELFER, *Cyril* pp. 36-43. Telfer argues that Maximus, Cyril's predecessor was at odds with him and therefore would not have deputed him to deliver the catechetical lectures. And so Cyril himself would have had to be bishop when they were given, hence a date after 349. The best and most recent summary of the *status quaestionis*, especially of the authorship of the mystagogical catecheses, is given in PIERDAGNEL, *Cyrille* pp. 18-40. CROSS, *St Cyril* provides an ET. The ET employed here for the catecheses before baptism is that of Telfer, with the exception of certain passages that are omitted in his edition. In those cases *NPNF*, 2nd series, Vol. VII, (893) will be cited.

¹² CYRIL, *Procathechesis* 4:14 (PG 33:340); *Cat.* 1:1 (PG 33:372); 8:10 (PG 33:468, 472); 10:19 (PG 33:688); 13:4 (PG 33:776); 22-23, 26, 28, 39 (PG 33:800, 805, 819); 14:14 (PG 33:844) (where he refers to "this holy church of the Resurrection" which in the context refers to the Martyrium. Tacté seems not to have been a fixed terminology for the buildings in mid-4th century.), 14:22 (PG 33: 851; where he mentions that the cave of the Resurrection was yet to be seen by the *phaticomenoi*. Whether this means the inside of the rotunda itself or the inside of the tomb is not clear).

¹³ CYRIL, *Cat.* 18:13 (PG 33:1032). "And after Easter's holy day of salvation, ye shall come on each successive day, beginning from the second day of the week, after the assembly (*synaxis*) into the Holy Place of the Resurrection, and there, if God permit, ye shall hear other lectures." (*NPNF*).

¹⁴ CYRIL, *Cat.* 16:4 (PG 33:924); 17:38 (*NPNF*) (PG 33: 1012); *Cat.* 14:23 (*NPNF*) (PG 33:856).

to this holy site since it seems that in Cyril, they had not yet entered the building.¹⁵

The third guiding principle, the relation of space and time in the celebration of important Christian feasts, is unique to Jerusalem. The elaborate organization that Egeria witnesses could not have developed overnight, but it is impossible to pinpoint exactly when this coordination of space and time first took place. What is important to note is that *the sacred topography was by no means the only guiding principle in the development of stationary practice in Jerusalem*. Just as influential was the now public nature of the *ecclesia* and its means of incorporating new members.¹⁶

2. The Process of Historicization: Egeria and the 40th Day After Easter.

Considerable organization of a stationary pattern is evident in Egeria's diary. Wednesdays and Fridays are marked by stationary synaxes at Sion, there is much mobility at the end of *Lucernare*, special feasts are observed at different churches, and the round of services during Holy Week is observed according to day and place. Before interpreting the pattern she describes, however, it will be useful to consider two aspects of the Jerusalem stationary pattern which do not correspond precisely to an historicized picture.

The first example is the unfolding of the commemorative services on Thursday evening and Friday morning of Holy Week. As we have seen, a second eucharistic celebration follows immediately upon the first. This second eucharist takes place in the chapel *Post Crucem*, but seems in no way related to the Last Supper. In fact, Egeria makes no references to the Last Supper at all on Holy Thursday. Some thirty years later the AL reports a commemorative observance of the Last Supper with a second eucharist celebrated at Sion, employing appropriate readings.¹⁷ Before the end of the fourth century no effort had been made to pinpoint the site of the Last Supper or to integrate it into the Jerusalem liturgy. Rather, the Holy Sepulchre complex served as the locus of celebration for the beginning of the Pascha as a whole. And so the whole celebration formed a

¹⁵ They would first enter immediately after their baptism as in *Rin. Eg.* 38:1.

¹⁶ Hence LECLERCQ is incorrect in his article, "Jérusalem, La liturgie à" col. 2377, when he claims "La liturgie hiérosolymitaine était par-dessus tout topographique, au point qu'elle semble être parfois un drame en action." Even if this state of affairs is characteristic of the later stages of liturgical development, this cannot adequately explain the origins of the stationary practice.

¹⁷ *Jer. Ann.* 121 (PO 36), p. 269. Efforts to show that the two eucharistic celebrations in Egeria are meant to reveal "l'unicité de l'oblation propitiatoire de Sauveur" as in THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*, p. 27 are the products more of wishful thinking than of analysis of the text.

sort of *inclusio* beginning and ending at this complex.¹⁸ The motivation here was just as ecclesial as it is historical.

The second non-historicized aspect of the Great Week services is the procession down the Mt. of Olives during the early morning hours of Good Friday. This procession did not attempt an historical mimesis of the early morning hours of Good Friday. This procession did not attempt an historical mimesis of the Passion, with detours to Caiaphas' or Pilate's, but rather came straight down the main E-W road to Golgotha. On this basis, I would argue that the procession itself was as important as the historical features of its stations, though the historical character of the service as a whole cannot be denied.

The major witness that historicization was by no means complete at the end of the fourth century is Egeria's description of a stational celebration at Bethlehem of the fortieth day after the Pascha: a Thursday. The whole paragraph merits citation:

"But on the fortieth day after Easter, ■ Thursday, that is actually on the Wednesday everyone goes to Bethlehem after the sixth hour to celebrate the vigil. The vigil is observed in the Bethlehem, in which church the Lord was born. On the next day, that is the fortieth day, Thursday, the eucharist is celebrated according to custom, so that the presbyters and bishop may preach appropriately to the day and place. Afterwards, in the evening, everyone goes back to Jerusalem."¹⁹

Here we find a liturgical celebration comprising a vigil and a morning eucharist with extended preaching, just as on Sundays ■ the Martyrium. It took place in the basilica at Bethlehem on the fortieth day after Easter Sunday. Needless to say the celebration must have been important since bishop, clergy and people all go out to Bethlehem some eight km. away from the city.

There are several complications arising from Egeria's description. The first is that the fortieth day after Easter corresponds to the date of the ascension in the Lucan chronology. Secondly, one would expect a celebration of that event to take place at the Imbomon on the Mt. of Olives. Thirdly, Egeria claims that the preaching was appropriate *diei et loco*, but what would Bethlehem have to do with Christ's ascension? And

¹⁸ Now this is where "unicity" of the celebration might be found, not so much in a concept but in the physical unity of the cult manifested by those central buildings. No one has yet satisfactorily explained why there were two successive eucharists ■ this day.

¹⁹ *Itin. Eg.* 42. "Die autem quadragesimarum post pascha, id est quinta feria, prae die omnes post sexta, ■ est quarta feria, in Bethlehem vadunt propter vigilas celebrandas. Finit autem vigilae in ecclesia ■ Bethlehem, in qua ecclesia natus est Dominus. Alia die autem, id est quinta feria quadragesimarum, celebratur ■ ordine suo, ■ et presbyteri et episcopus praedicant dicentes apte diei et loci: et post modum sera revertuntur unusquisque."

fourthly she also mentions that the ascension is commemorated in Jerusalem at the Imbomon on the afternoon of Pentecost.²⁰

These difficulties have inspired several theories. For example, J.G. Davies opposes Dekkers' solution of dating Egeria's diary to 417 when there seems to have been a feast at Bethlehem of the Holy Innocents on the fortieth day after Pascha. But we have seen above that this is already thirty years too late. The possibility that the ascension and Pentecost would be celebrated on the same day is discounted by Davies on account of the elaborate nature (and historical features) of Egeria's calendar.²¹ But this begs the question, for it is the extent of that historicization which is at issue. Davies then has to deny that Egeria is describing affairs accurately when she says that the preaching corresponded to day and place, which he does by arguing that this is a stock phrase for her. Moreover, since there was no church at the Imbomon at Egeria's time, it may have been necessary to transfer the celebration of the ascension to another church. And since so many early writers link the incarnation and ascension (e.g. Justin Martyr, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzus), a fitting locus would be Bethlehem. Thus the celebration in Bethlehem would be prompted by a primitive theological linking of the two events.²²

Wilkinson follows the main lines of Davies' argument, adding that the Jerusalem church celebrated the ascension at Bethlehem with an additional station during the liturgical year.²³ Pètré and D. Baldi agree, especially on the basis of the patristic theological evidence of linking the events.²⁴

This solution is an awkward one, for it cannot explain the fact that Egeria already mentions a commemoration of the ascension on Pentecost. Is it possible that the Jerusalem church went out to Bethlehem for a different celebration? I find this solution entirely feasible. It was Bludau who suggested that this was the time of year for Adonis (Thammuz)

²⁰ *Itin. Eg.* 43:5: "Legitur etiam et ille locus de evangelio ubi dicit de ascensu Domini; legitur et denuo de actis apostolorum, ubi dicit de ascensu Domini in celis post resurrectionem." For the early history of the relation between ascension and Pentecost, cf. KRETSCHMAR, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten," also CABRÉ, *Pentecôte*, pp. 127-142, 185-189.

■ DAVIES, "Peregrinatio" p. 94; cf. chapter one, note 75.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98: "...to the Christians of the fourth century and before the celebration of that festival at Bethlehem, the scene of the Incarnation, would occasion no surprise and would be regarded as most fitting."

²² WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 78. If this were the case, however, and there was as yet no special church at the Imbomon (a proposition with which I agree) then the Eleona could just as well have been used on the fortieth day. Also the *Lazarium* could easily have been replaced as a station during the Easter octave to make way for using the church at Bethlehem for a station.

²³ PÉTRÉ, *Égérie*, pp. 66-67. Part of her reasoning comes from Eusebius' mentioning the basilicas at Bethlehem and Eleona side by side in Constantine's building program (VC III:41). This argument is not convincing. Cf. BALDI, "Lezioni scritturistiche" p. 212.

festival, and that replacing that festival may have been a polemical move. He proposes that the replacement might be the Holy Innocents.²⁵ Moreover, Kretschmar insists that much of the Jerusalem calendar did not originate in that city, and, as ascension was one of the imports, it was celebrated unitively with Pentecost.²⁶

Recently P. Devos has confirmed the old hypothesis of F. Cabrol that the fortieth day after Easter cannot be an ascension feast in Egeria.²⁷ In conjunction with his earlier effort at dating, Devos notes that in the year Egeria would have been in Jerusalem (383), the fortieth day would be 18 May. This is the date manuscript Π gives for the feast of the Holy Innocents. Then both the commemoration at the Imbomon on Pentecost and the apt preaching at Bethlehem \equiv the fortieth day would make sense. I suggest that the difficulty of this passage most probably stems from Egeria's confusion of a feast dated to the yearly calendar (the Holy Innocents) with a date related to the Easter Cycle. In other words, she should have dated the Bethlehem observance to a day of the month rather than in relation to Easter.

The process of historicization was not complete by the time of Egeria's diary, and it was not the only factor germane to the development of the Jerusalem stationary pattern. Many authors have too quickly accepted historicization as the unique motive in the development of Jerusalem's worship.

3. The Jerusalem Catecheses and the Stations

The duration of Lent as described by Egeria is another controverted subject.²⁸ When combined with the practice of catechetical instruction by the bishop or his deputy, the picture becomes even more complex. An attempt to discuss the catecheses with an eye to stationary practice may throw light on both subjects.

Egeria says that Lent lasted for eight weeks including Great Week. This adds up to forty fast days, when Sundays and all but Great Saturday

²⁵ BLUDAU, *Pilgerreise*, pp. 155-156. In general, Bludau's is the most thorough of the commentaries, especially with regard to providing numerous citations from early Christian literature. But finally Bludau agrees with the consensus opinion that it is likely that this is an ascension feast, p. 162.

²⁶ KRETCHMAR, "Frühe Geschichte" pp. 36-37. Kretschmar puts the earliest celebration of the ascension as a separate feast back to 480. This is inaccurate in view of REMOUX's discovery of *cod. Jer. Arm. 121*, which fills manuscript Π 's lacuna here and shows that the feast was celebrated as early as 417. Cf. CABRÉ, *Pentecôte*, pp. 185-189.

²⁷ DEVOS, "Égérie à Bethléhem" pp. 103-105. The entire first part of the article is a useful review of the literature on this subject; cf. CABROL, *Étude*, pp. 122-123.

²⁸ Cf. WILKINSON, *Egeria*, pp. 278-280, for a convenient review of the difficulties and the theories proposed to solve them.

are omitted from the discipline (27:1). Cyril of Jerusalem gives no indication on the duration of Lent but infers that the 14th lecture is on Monday and hints that the 6-8th and 10-12th lectures were given on consecutive days.²⁹ Telfer contends that there was no Great Week as such when Cyril first delivered the catecheses.³⁰ The Armenian Lectionary provides a six week Lent, not including Great Week and notes the readings for nineteen catecheses.³¹ So, in the space of some seventy years there seems to have been considerable fluidity in the duration of Lent. None of the sources provides a means of differentiating the fasting discipline of the whole church and the special preparation of the baptismal candidates (*prothizomenoi*).

According to Egeria there is a good deal of stationary activity in Lent. Wednesdays and Fridays are celebrated by an assembly at Sion, just as during the rest of the year, except that no eucharist is celebrated at these ninth hour synaxes (27:6). (The AL indicates that three OT lessons are read during these services). Egeria then comments that bishop and people process to the Anastasis for *Lucernare* after the assembly at Sion. On Fridays a vigil is held at the Anastasis, the only exception being Friday of the seventh week when the vigil is held at Sion (29:2). The retention of Sion as an important station for Lent was probably a sign of its venerability for the Jerusalem community.³²

As far as the catecheses are concerned, Egeria says that they begin on Monday, the second day of Lent, and are held in the Martyrium (45:1-2). Cyril also indicated that the catecheses were given there. In addition Egeria claims that catechetical instruction and exorcism were both given daily for three hours, at least when there was a dismissal from the Anastasis in the mornings (46:1-4). This would seem to exclude Sunday from the scheme of lectures. The Lenten services of "terce" at the Anastasis provides a closure for the instruction. The *redditio symboli* took place at the end of the seventh week, i.e. just prior to Great Week. Egeria also claims that the mystagogical catecheses were delivered each day during the octave of the Pascha in the Anastasis rotunda (47:1-2).

The problem arises when one realizes that Cyril provides only eighteen catecheses plus a protocatechesis. The last lecture in the manuscripts may

²⁹ At least this is the interpretation of TELFER, *Cyril*, p. 35.

³⁰ TELFER, *Cyril*, p. 30: "When Cyril first lectured, there was the forty-day fast and Easter, but no Holy Week or Good Friday. Bishop and people did not go together from holy place to holy place, according to the subject of the day's commemoration." Telfer may well be correct with regard to the existence of Holy Week in the mid-4th century. However, with regard to the existence of stationary processions, he argues from silence.

³¹ *Jer. Arm. 121* (PO 36), pp. 233-57.

³² Thus we have a confirmation of BAUMSTARK's law that the more solemn celebrations retain the most ancient liturgical features, cf. "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit," *JLW* 7 (1927), pp. 1-23; *idem*, *Comparative Liturgy*, pp. 27-30.

well be two lectures collapsed into one. At any rate, this means that lectures were not delivered every day of Lent, ca. 350.³³ Moreover, the mystagogical lectures that have come down from Cyril number only five, while both he and Egeria infer that they were given every day of the octave.³⁴ The AL provides reading for only four lectures. An investigation of when the lectures were actually given may throw some light on the stationary system and its influence.

As was mentioned above, Cyril's 14th catechesis was delivered on a Monday, since he refers to the previous day's synaxis in the Martyrium.³⁵ One cannot make a hard and fast case that the 6-8th and 10-12th lectures were given on consecutive days since what can be translated as "yesterday's lecture" from the Greek can also mean "the previous lecture" — a common enough practice in classroom rhetoric. If one supposes a six-week Lent for Cyril, including the Great Week,³⁶ one then asks when the eighteen or nineteen lectures might have been given during that period. For this the only helpful guide is the AL, which witnesses a state of affairs some seventy years later. Egeria is problematic here since her eight-week Lent has no parallel in the Jerusalem sources.³⁷ A six-week Lent ending prior to Great Week (the form it takes in the AL) is much more reasonable parallel to Cyril.

The AL does provide stations for fifteen days during Lent.³⁸ With the addition of six Sundays, when regular synaxes were held, one comes up with twenty-one days that are covered by some kind of liturgical assembly, over and above the regular daily services. This leaves nineteen days left over, i.e. the number of catechetical lectures given in the AL which can be extrapolated from Cyril's lecture. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the catecheses to the *photizomenoi* were delivered on non-stationary days precisely because there was no extended synaxis on those days? This would also fit the fact that Cyril's 14th lecture was delivered on Monday since the catechetical days would be: 1st Week: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday,

³³ TELFER, Cyril, pp. 34-36 attempts to solve the problem by suggesting that since several different language groups needed to hear the lectures that they were given on alternate days in Greek and Syriac. But Egeria claims explicitly that the lectures were given only in Greek and that there were translators for those who could not comprehend that language.

³⁴ CYRIL, *Cat.* 18:33 (PG 33:1056); *Itin. Eg.* 47:1.

³⁵ CYRIL, *Cat.* 18:24 (NPNF) (PG 33: 1044-1045).

³⁶ CYRIL himself does not refer to the duration of Lent in mid-fourth century Jerusalem. There is a hint in Eusebius that it lasted six weeks, as it did in Alexandria at the time, cf. WILKINSON, *Egeria*, p. 278.

³⁷ This anomaly in addition to some confusion about the content of these catecheses may lead one to suspect that the Lenten course which Egeria witnessed was an experiment that did not last. Cf. A.A. STEPHENSON, "The Lenten Catechetical Syllabus in Fourth-century Jerusalem," *TS* 15 (1954), pp. 103-166.

³⁸ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 239-45.

Saturday; 2nd Week: Saturday; 3rd Week: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday; 4th Week: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday; 5th Week: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday; and 6th Week: Monday and Tuesday.³⁹

Given this connection between stationary and catechetical days during Lent, let us consider the postbaptismal catecheses. Both Cyril and Egeria mention that these lectures were given daily.⁴⁰ They also mention that they took place in the Anastasis. However, the series of lectures attributed to Cyril (or perhaps his successor, John, but at any rate much later than 350) there are only five lectures.⁴¹ The early manuscripts of the AL provide for only four lectures.⁴² Both of these latter sources indicate the Anastasis as the place where the mystagogical lectures are given. RENOUX attributes the drop from five to four lectures to the changing stationary pattern of the Paschal octave. Egeria (392) mentions stations for five days on which the lectures could conveniently be given in the Anastasis (Martyrium: Monday, Tuesday and Sunday; Anastasis: Thursday; Ad Crucem: Saturday). By the time of the AL, however, the Tuesday station at the Martyrium has been shifted to St. Stephen's at the Sion diakonikon,⁴³ and so there are four days when the lectures might reasonably be given in the Anastasis.⁴⁴

Given the relation between stations and lectures during the octave of the Pascha, it seems logical to suggest that a similar balance must have held for the catecheses during Lent. In this case there was early on a close relation between the ecclesial needs of the community and the evolution of the stations. It seems that a desire to hold stations in every important spot was beginning to win out in the beginning of the fifth century when one of the mystagogical catecheses was dropped. Note however that the mystagogy was influential enough that two stations used during the octave of Epiphany (namely the Lazarium and Bethlehem) were never adopted during Easter Octave. The origins of the stationary system in Jerusalem are therefore connected with ecclesial needs as well as a process of historicizing the liturgy.

³⁹ RENOUX, *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 232-33n., is incorrect in his enumeration for he omits Saturday of the 2nd week. He takes no position as to when the catecheses were delivered, for he misses the connection between the scheme and Cyril's mention that the 14th lecture is on a Monday. BALDI, "Lezioni Scritturali," p. 188 attempts to assign the days, but his scheme forces him to put the last lecture on the morning of Great Saturday, well over a week after the 18th. He claims that the catecheses were delivered on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday of all six weeks, and the last on Great Saturday. Thus he misses the connection with the stationary system.

⁴⁰ CYRIL, *Cat.* 18:33; *Itin. Eg.* 47:1-2.

⁴¹ Cf. CROSS *St. Cyril*, pp. 53-80.

⁴² *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), pp. 327-331.

⁴³ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p. 315.

⁴⁴ Cf. RENOUX, "Catéchèses": "le nombre de quatre catéchèses mystagogiques conservé dans le *Lectionnaire arménien* semble donc dépendant de l'organisation stationnaire; il n'y a plus, au cours de la semaine pascale, que quatre stations dans les églises du Calvaire," p. 356.

B. THE EVOLUTION OF THE PATTERN AND ITS MEANING

At this point it is opportune to analyze the evolution of the stational character of the Jerusalem system of worship as a whole, a development which will be treated in three stages.

1. *From Egeria to the Armenian Lectionary*

The liturgical data provided by Egeria must be considered carefully in contrast with the AL. Since she does not pretend to give a complete liturgical calendar for Jerusalem but only describes major feasts, one cannot tell how many individual saints were honored by the Christian community in Jerusalem in the late fourth century. On this level, that of a more complete sanctoral calendar, we must overlook differences with the AL.

Differences that clearly show an evolution from the practice in Egeria's time to that of the early fifth century will be divided into those that fall within the calendar year and those which deal specifically with Great Week. In the former category the most obvious change has to do with the celebration of octaves. A new station, the Martyrium of St. Stephen (= Diakonikon of Sion), has been added in the AL. The enshrining of the bones of the city's most famous martyr was evidently considered important enough to induce a change in the stational pattern. St. Stephen's replaces the Martyrium of Golgotha on the second day of Epiphany and on Easter Tuesday. This latter change, as was argued above, prompted the dropping of one of the mystagogical lectures.

Not only is a new station introduced, but there is also a change in the order of stations during both octaves. In Egeria after three days at the Martyrium it is as if a grand circuit were being made around the city by going from Eleona to the Lazarium to Sion and finally back to the Anastasis and *Ad Crucem* atrium during the Epiphany octave. This logical circuit is lost in the AL which goes from the Martyrium to St. Stephen's and then back to the Martyrium and then to Sion, Eleona, the Lazarium, *Ad Crucem* and the Anastasis. In both cases, however, the system is constructed such that the community goes out of the city walls to celebrate in the middle of the octave. The Easter octave manifests the same differences, except that here the AL seems to have the more logical circuit of the city going from the Martyrium to St. Stephen's to Sion, Eleona, *Ad Crucem*, Anastasis and finally back to the Martyrium. Note that both Egeria and the AL assign the Sion to a traditional stational day for that place, i.e. either Wednesday or Friday. Both schemes also omit the Lazarium and the Bethlehem basilica. They were probably considered too far away for use during this octave, and as we have mentioned above, stations at such a distance did not suit the needs of the Paschal mystagogy.

Moreover, the Lazarium had been used hardly more than a week before on "Lazarus Saturday".

Apart from the relatively minor reversal of the Martyrium and the Anastasis as stations on 2 February (*Hypapante*) and the first day of *Encaenia* there are two other important developments outside of Holy Week. The first is that the *Encaenia* octave seems to have disappeared in the AL. This is significant for the feast was an important pilgrim drawing-card for Egeria. Unfortunately we do not know the full disposition of the octave in her time since the manuscript breaks off after the third day. When one connects this with the second development, the shortening of services on the afternoon of Pentecost Sunday, there seems to be a movement toward economization of time from one stational disposition to the other. This is not entirely clear, however, since the AL replaces Egeria's elaborate tour of the city through all of its important shrines with the rather laconic description of the afternoon station at the Imbomon: "And after the Gospel one makes the genuflection. This canon is done three times. And in all of the holy places the same."⁴⁵ Thus, the compilers of the AL did not see the need to outline precisely the path of a procession which had involved so many people in Egeria's description.

Signs of an evolving pattern are even more striking during Holy Week. The Palm Sunday afternoon service is shortened by two hours between Egeria and the AL. On Monday and Wednesday the AL has an afternoon service in the Martyrium at the tenth hour, and a similar service on Tuesday afternoon at Eleona. This arrangement replaces Egeria's description of services from Monday through Wednesday at the Martyrium at the ninth hour preceding *Lucernare*. Her service at the Eleona is on Tuesday evening and is additional to the afternoon service. Thus it seems that the AL has telescoped a number of Egeria's services.

On Thursday of Great Week Egeria describes a double eucharistic celebration, first in the Martyrium and then in the *Post Crucem* chapel. The AL shifts the second celebration to the *Ad Crucem* atrium and adds a procession and brief reading service, whose readings commemorate the institution of the eucharist, at Sion. Two developments are noteworthy here. The first is that the second eucharist has been shifted to a larger space, the atrium. The second is that there is a greater emphasis on the historical institution of the eucharist by placing a commemorative service at Sion. The insertion of the extra procession to Sion in the AL is probably the reason that the first eucharist begins at the seventh hour here while it is an hour later in Egeria.

⁴⁵ Jer. Arm 121 (PO 36), p. 343.

Perhaps the most significant of all developments between the two sources is found in the procession down the Mount of Olives in the early morning hours of Good Friday. Whereas the procession moves from the *ecclesia elegans* and Gethsemane directly to the *Ad Crucem* atrium in Egeria, the AL describes a procession from the "Place of the Disciples" (the *ecclesia elegans*)⁴⁶ and Gethsemane to the "Court of the High Priest, where Peter repented". This addition comprises not only another gospel account (Matthew 26: 57-75) but also a considerable detour to the Sion area of the city, after which the procession returns to the *Ad Crucem* forecourt for the reading of John 18:27 - 19:16 and the dismissal. The description found in the AL is clearly an historicization; i.e., an attempt to imitate more accurately the actual story of Jesus' arrest and trial. On Good Friday morning the adoration of the wood of the Cross has been shifted in the AL from the *Post Crucem* chapel to the *Ad Crucem* atrium, but for the rest both sources describe parallel services.

And so, the major developments in the stational system from Egeria to the AL involve: the addition of a new station in the Epiphany and Easter octaves, shifting the order of stations, a certain economizing in stations that have less historical significance, the loss of the *Post Crucem* chapel as a station, the historicization of the processional route on the morning of Good Friday, the addition of a stational service at Sion on Holy Thursday, and the possible loss of the *Encaenia* octave.

2. Between the Two Manuscripts of the Armenian Lectionary

Tracing the second stage of the development of stational liturgy in Jerusalem involves a comparison of the two earliest manuscripts of the AL, J and P. Although both manuscripts are based on the same liturgical sequence, they contain some important differences, for example the dropping of the *lectio continua* for more discrete and historically appropriate pericopes.⁴⁷ However, outside of Great Week most of the differences are relatively minor. For example, P lacks J's stational notice at the Martyrium of Stephen on 9 March. It omits the procession to Sion in the afternoon of the octave Sunday of the Pascha. P gives 18 May as the date of the Holy Innocents instead of 9 May, and 24 August for Thomas the Apostle in place of J's "Thomas and others" on 23 August. Finally P represents a development in the idea of the commemoration of 25 December in that it switches J's Jacob (the patriarch) and David to David and James (the apostle) and does not mention, as J does, that the Nativity is celebrated in other cities on this day.

⁴⁶ Pace RENOUX, *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 36), p.275n. "Il s'agit très probablement de la crypte située sous la chœur de la basilique de l'Eléona."

⁴⁷ *Jer. Arm.* 121 (PO 35), pp. 162-168.

Far more important are the divergences between the two lectionaries during Great Week. On Palm Sunday P abbreviates the afternoon service by an hour. On Tuesday the afternoon service at the Mount of Olives has dropped out. In the procession of the early morning hours of Good Friday instead of proceeding to the "Court of the High Priest", P has the congregation go from Gethsemane to the *Ad Crucem* atrium and then to Pilate's; i.e., "The Palace of the Judge," located near the Southwest corner of the Temple platform, and finally to the *Ad Crucem* court. In each case the historically appropriate gospel has been read with no attention to *lectio continua* as in J. The building of a church on the traditional site of Pilate's Praetorium probably occasioned a change in the stational disposition from the Court of the High Priest, where there was no church at the time of J. Here we should note is the movement toward greater historical accuracy in the unfolding of Great Week services, abetted no doubt by the construction of new shrines. Given this tendency, P's omission of a mention of the Anastasis as the place where the gospel about Christ's burial is read on Friday afternoon is probably a scribal omission.

P's description of the order for the Paschal vigil on Saturday night represents another evolution of the Jerusalem services. Here the lamp-lighting is performed in the Anastasis instead of the Martyrium where three lamps are lit by the bishop instead of one. The best explanation of these changes seems: a) a move toward emphasizing the symbolism of three days in the tomb by the initial lighting three lamps and b) a stronger emphasis on the actual spot of the Resurrection by placing the lighting of the lamps in the Anastasis instead of the Martyrium where the major part of *Lucernare* and the vigil are held.⁴⁸ Moreover, P is puzzling in that it reports a great number of deacons accompanying the bishop at the end of the vigil instead of J's great number of neophytes.⁴⁹ In conclusion, the evolution between these two typika represents greater attention to the historical event of the resurrection on Holy Saturday evening and a greater preoccupation with an historical imitation of the arrest and trial of Jesus on Holy Thursday and Good Friday. The temptation of matching each service to the appropriate sacred site was apparently very strong.

3. From the Armenian Lectionary to the Georgian Lectionary and the Anastasis Typikon

The arrangement of the GL confirms the process of historicization in the Jerusalem stational pattern. In addition to a much fuller sanctoral cycle

⁴⁸ Cf. BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp.29-33. B. has reservations concerning Renoux's thesis that there is considerable development at this point between J and P, but he does admit that P does emphasize new features.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.35.

and a number of new stational churches for these commemorations, the GL also reveals a tendency to curtail the length of services and processions. We will focus first on the year in general and then more specifically on Holy Week.

A major shift in the stational system has been inspired by the introduction of the feast of Christmas (December 25) with its stations at The Place of the Shepherds and the Bethlehem basilica. Since the Nativity emphasis is now taken up by Christmas, Epiphany is celebrated only at the Martyrium and not in Bethlehem as well. Christmas has no octave, whereas Epiphany retains an octave reworked in view of the addition of new stational churches: the Nea, John the Baptist's and the Martyrium of Stephen, north of the city walls. Not all has changed, however, since the diakonikon at Sion is retained for the feast of St. Stephen, and Sion remains the station for Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent. The Lazarium and Eleona, both outside of the city have been replaced by newer and more popular shrines. During the Easter octave both Eleona and St. Stephen's at Sion have been dropped as stations. During the Paschal season several stations have been added to weekdays outside of the octave, including one on the Thursday of the third week to commemorate the Holy Innocents at Bethlehem. As in AL-P, the GL omits the station at Sion on the evening of Pentecost Sunday. *Encaenia* is once again treated as an octave, although only three stations (Anastasis, Sion and the Nea) are mentioned by name.⁵⁰

The first major change in Holy Week comes on Palm Sunday, where the afternoon procession to commemorate Christ's entry into Jerusalem has now been incorporated into the morning service and is concluded with the Eucharist at the Martyrium. Furthermore, the route of the procession has been shortened, now going out only as far as Gethsemane and returning to the Martyrium via the Probatic Pool. *Lucernare* on Monday has been transferred to Sion; on Tuesday it has been transferred to the Anastasis. On Thursday in Holy Week, the practice of a double eucharist has dropped as has the procession to Sion, and the office for penitents has been added during the morning at the third hour.

The historicizing process evident in all three of the sources studied so far can also be witnessed in the procession back to the city in the early morning hours of Good Friday. In the GL both St. Peter's church (Caiaphas) and Holy Wisdom (Pilate's) are stations in the procession. The process has been completed to match the Gospel events exactly. On Friday afternoon the adoration of the cross has been incorporated into the afternoon reading synaxis, instead of being held separately in the morning.

⁵⁰ However, a tenth century Georgian typikon which includes much material from the Jerusalem tradition, *Ms. Sin. Georg. 34*, ed. GARITE, *Calendrier*, gives the full octave from the second day as: Martyrium (*visio Crucis*), Sion (*dedicatio*), Sion, Ascension, Bethlehem, Golgotha, Anastasis, cf. p. 90.

On Holy Saturday P's arrangement of the vigil has been retained with two exceptions. One candle (not lamp) is lit after a three-fold procession around the Anastasis. This three-fold procession probably increases the emphasis on the three-day burial. Also, there is no mention of a shift in the locus of the service from the Anastasis to the Martyrium. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the Martyrium was no longer used. It may be, as Bertoniére suggests, that at this point the Georgian scribe may have only considered the disposition of his local community where only one church was disposed for the vigil.⁵¹ Once again there is no second eucharist immediately following that of the vigil. It seems that the practice of double Eucharist has been dropped by the time of the GL.

The Anastasis Typikon of the tenth century contains only the order (as well as readings and poetic material) for Holy Week. Here too there are a great many changes. In the first place, the Palm Sunday procession, on Sunday morning as in the GL, has been lengthened by going as far as the top of the Mount of Olives, to the Ascension. Also, each of the four gospels is read in its entirety at a service following *orthros* (morning prayer) from Monday through Thursday. The Martyrium is no longer the location of the bishop's eucharist on Thursday afternoon. This has been shifted to Sion, while some monks and clergy remain at the Martyrium and celebrate the eucharist there — perhaps a conservative nod to the tradition. In any case, the double eucharist is re-instated, but it is simultaneous. After the eucharist at Sion the patriarch performs a service for the washing of feet in the "Upper room". For the first time in the sources we possess, the Thursday night procession starts back to the city not from the peak of the Mount of Olives but from Gethsemane.

The Paschal vigil has been rearranged considerably. The GL's three-fold procession round the Anastasis has been expanded to include the whole Golgotha complex. In addition, this procession takes place only after the vigil readings. Hence the *Lucernare* elements are now mixed in with the vigil. Although the practice of a second eucharist has been restored, the readings themselves have been adapted to the model of the Great Church in Constantinople. Initiatory features have been dropped. Both an exclusive attention to the Pascha as Resurrection and monastic elements in the celebration predominate.

The pattern of development of the Jerusalem stational liturgy from the time of the AL through the Anastasis Typikon shows a tendency toward economy and historicization. Processions have been shortened, and services have been incorporated into one another. Moreover, it is clear that the GL and AL witness a decline in the grandeur of the service described by Egeria and the AL. Two factors are worthy of note. The first is the conservatism of the tradition from the fourth century to the tenth, despite

⁵¹ Cf. BERTONIÉRE, *Easter Vigil*, p. 57.

the number of changes. The second is that Christian Jerusalem had suffered greatly both because of the Persian invasion and the Arab conquest and occupation of the seventh century. It is small wonder that the public impression of the Jerusalem services suffered and that greater attention was given to historical detail and to stational churches closer to the city itself. The latter development may have been an effort to compensate for the grandeur of earlier and perhaps happier days.

4. *Pattern in the Development of the Jerusalem Stational Liturgy*

There was considerable development in the stational liturgy of Jerusalem from the early fourth century up to the destruction of the Golgotha complex by Hakim in 1009. In the midst of this evolution, however there were factors that remained constant. First, the presence of the bishop remained vital to the city's worship. In the midst of topographical and temporal diversity the bishop was the visible focus of unity in this urban liturgy, so much so that the word stational itself implies episcopal liturgy.

A second factor is the phenomenon of mobility. Even though we have observed change and development as well as curtailment in the stational pattern, the bishop's liturgy is mobile throughout the period. Thus, even after the Persian invasion and the Arab conquest of the seventh century, Jerusalem liturgy is consistently public and mobile. This is witnessed by numerous pilgrim accounts as well as by the liturgical data considered here.⁵²

Changes in the urban character of the Jerusalem liturgy can be considered under three aspects: the pattern of stational development itself; changes in the content of liturgical services; and the relation of mobility in space to the liturgy of time. In relation to the stational pattern the evolution goes in two directions. The first is one of expansion. From the time of Eusebius and Cyril through that of Egeria and the AL to the GL, a greater number of shrines and churches as well as an expanded calendar indicate that the urban worship of Jerusalem became more complex and had a greater topographical distribution. Even if a large number of saints' days in the GL were celebrated by various groups of monks instead of always by the bishop, there are a number of feasts celebrated in different places which the bishop most likely presided over.

On the other hand a tendency toward contraction has been noted. After the seventh century it was less possible to go outside of the city walls for stational celebrations. Moreover, formerly independent services, e.g., the Palm Sunday procession and the adoration of the cross, were absorbed

⁵² For example, ADOMNAN's account of the Holy Places (late seventh century) in WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 93-104.

into other services. There are several reasons for this contraction. The first is that the exuberance of the Jerusalem liturgy as witnessed in Egeria and the AL waned after the catastrophes of the seventh century and during the continuing occupation of Jerusalem by the Arabs. The second is that liturgical services tended to become weighed down by a great deal of hymnody (i.e., non-scriptural musical composition) and therefore economization was needed in other areas.⁵³

The second major development in Jerusalem liturgy is that of the services themselves. R. ZERFASS has distinguished several liturgical functions in the Jerusalem system. The first, *Verkündigungsgottesdienst* (proclamation service), is a stational service as such, always adapted to time and place. As described in Egeria such a service consists of:

Oration
Reading
Psalm
Oration
(Blessing)

For ZERFASS the essential element in these services is the reading, usually of a gospel passage or, in the case of an Old Testament site, from that part of the scripture. The reading is always appropriate to the time and place of celebration.⁵⁴ However, in cathedral offices (*Lucernare* and Morning prayer) the following structure prevails:

Psalmody (at *Lucernare* - Blessing for the Light)
Song
Common Prayers
Prayer of Inclination (Blessing)
Dismissal

This structure suggests that the cathedral office had as its motive not so much proclamation as prayer and praise. The main element in the latter type of service is psalmody, song and intercession.⁵⁵ ZERFASS has also shown through a careful analysis of all oriental offices that the presence of readings in the cathedral offices is directly attributable to the gradual mixing of proclamation services and the cathedral offices in the Jerusalem liturgy. Thus the original function of cathedral offices is obscured, so that by the time of the Anastasis Typikon there is a complete confusion of vigil and *lucernare* elements in the order of service, which has the vigil readings preceding the light service.

⁵³ Cf. BERTONIÈRE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 101-05, for an analysis of the effect of this volume of hymnody on the celebration of the paschal vigil in Jerusalem.

⁵⁴ Cf. ZERFASS, *Schriftlesung*, p. 5.

⁵⁵ ZERFASS, *Schriftlesung*, p. 14.

This process is even clearer in the GL when one notes the following structure in *Lucernare*:⁵⁶

Psalm 140
Evening Hymn
Poetic Song
Psalm
OT readings (weekdays of Lent)
Gospel (Holy Week, Easter Octave, Pentecost)
Prayer
Poetic Song
Trisagion

Readings which had formed an essential part of stational services in the AL have now been incorporated into the very structure of *Lucernare*. Hence, services were collapsed into one another, elements of the proclamation service were added to cathedral offices. This process took place as hymnic elements were being expanded in the offices in the late fifth century.⁵⁷ Thus, the character of the cathedral offices was changed as stational liturgy in general became economized.

Finally, except for Holy Week, there seems to be little emphasis on processions in the later sources of the Jerusalem liturgy. There are likely to have been far fewer processions in this urban liturgy after Jerusalem was no longer a Christian city.

One can conclude, then that (a) the public nature of Christianity from the late third century and especially after Constantine made the use of large scale buildings and the practice of mobile liturgy possible in Jerusalem; (b) in the midst of the popularity of the holy places Jerusalem maintained an ecclesiological consistency in that its bishop was the unitive liturgical focus, and that at least up until the AL stational factors interplayed with the requirements for initiation; and (c) Jerusalem was unique as an urban center of Christianity in that its sacred sites made a mobile liturgy natural and provided the focus of an increasingly historicized liturgy.

C. THE "HISTORICIZATION OF LITURGICAL TIME"

The foremost proponent of the idea that Christian Jerusalem inspired a new relation of Christianity to time was Gregory Dix, who in his *The Shape of the Liturgy* argued that a "liturgical revolution" occurred during the fourth century. This involves the claim that the earlier Christian

⁵⁶ LEBB, *Gesänge*, p. 147.

⁵⁷ LEBB, *Gesänge*, p. 276. Cf. also TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 98-118, and MATEOS, *Célébration*, 34-45, for the tendency to replace psalmody by hymnic elements.

eschatological view of time was eclipsed by the liturgical presentation of the historical process of redemption.⁵⁸ In a sense Dix was correct. The fourth century did indeed see a transformation in Christian worship, and a foremost example of the change is the urban liturgy of Jerusalem. Dix also correctly related the change to the public status of Christianity:

The church of the fourth century did not hesitate to be magnificent, just because she did not refuse to be public ... Catholic worship is the result ... by and large — of the blending of two things, of primitive christian doctrine with the sort of expression the whole ancient world considered suitable for any public act.⁵⁹

Dix's mistake, however, lay in attributing this change to a transformation in the Christian concept of time and its relation to liturgy. In the first place he linked the sanctification of the day via public services of worship in the morning and evening to monastic practice as essentially private devotion, made available to the large Christian public.⁶⁰ Second, Dix related the elaboration of the Christian calendar after Nicaea to a concept of time reconciled with this world and with historical remembrance of the events of salvation history. Both are rather serious errors. With regard to the monastic origin of the sanctification of the day as a liturgical act he is wrong, for the practice of public morning and evening prayer coincides with or predates monasticism.⁶¹ With regard to the Christian concept of time, Dix is painting with a large brush. From the very beginning Christianity has been both historical (related to historic events in Christ) and eschatological (in that these events transcend time).⁶² The two concepts are not mutually exclusive. Modulations in their importance do not necessarily affect Christian worship.⁶³ Moreover, none of the changes which Dix outlines are completely original with the accession of Constantine and official recognition of Christianity as a permissible religion. The process was much less revolutionary than Dix would lead us to suppose. A. Schmemmann's assessment of the situation is balanced:

⁵⁸ Dix, *Shape*, p. 305.

⁵⁹ Dix, *Shape*, pp. 315, 316.

⁶⁰ Dix, *Shape*, pp. 327, 331.

⁶¹ For recent discussions of this issue, see BRADSHAW, *Daily Prayer*, pp. 72ff. and TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 36ff.

⁶² On the historical nature of the earliest Christian feasts, i.e. in the Ante-Nicene period, cf. TAFT, "Liturgical Year", pp. 11-13; TALLEY, "Liturgical Time".

⁶³ This point is made by SCHMEMMANN, *Introduction*, pp. 40-59: "It (the Church) cannot abolish the liturgy of time, because then time would really be emptied and deprived of meaning, would nothing but 'intervals' between celebrations of the Eucharist. Thus the new cult, an eschatological cult in the deepest sense of the word, required for its real fulfillment inclusion in the rhythm of time, and its combination within this rhythm with the liturgy of time, as the affirmation of the reality of the world which Christ came to save." p. 59.

It is really impossible to speak of a "liturgical revolution in the fourth century", if by this we mean the appearance of a type of worship differing radically from that which had gone before It is also difficult, however, to deny the profound change which after all did mark the Church's liturgical life beginning with the epoch of Constantine.⁶⁴

The change in the style and hence in the meaning of worship is indeed profound in the fourth century liturgy of Jerusalem, but the motive of this development is not so much a changing perception of *time* as a changed relation to *space*. The construction of large and impressive churches in and around Jerusalem and the creation of a mobile and processional form of worship which formed them into a system means that the *scale* of Christian liturgical action changed enormously. It is no longer a matter of the united Christian community meeting in one *domus ecclesiae* or even one "church building," as was evidently the case with the use of Sion prior to the early fourth century. Now the very spots hallowed by tradition are made available to the community — along with the money to construct on them. In fact, they have become showplaces of the imperial triumph. Hence, in Jerusalem it is natural that there should be a system of worship organized around the holy places. If the Christian liturgy became more historical in Jerusalem; i.e., if it now tended to be organized into services focusing on discrete historical events, this was the result not of a new concept of time, but of the accessibility of new spaces that enabled Christians to claim the former Roman *colonia* as their own.

Therefore, in Jerusalem, the publicly acceptable status of Christianity made the use of a number of places of worship likely; the existence of a sacred topography hallowed by tradition made it inevitable. The result was the stational liturgy, whose development we have traced.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SETTING AND SOURCES FOR THE STATIONAL LITURGY OF ROME

Listen, O fairest queen of all the world, Rome, welcomed amid the starry skies,
Thou mother of men and mother of gods,
Thanks to thy temples we are not far from heaven ...
As far as living nature hath stretched toward the poles, so far hath earth
opened a path for thy valor.
For nations far apart thou hast made a single fatherland;
Under thy dominion captivity hath meant profit even for those who knew
not justice:
And by offering to the vanquished a share in thine own justice,
Thou hast made a city of what was erstwhile a world.¹

This last gasp of praise for pagan Rome, written by Rutilius Namatianus after the city's sack by Alaric in 410, is representative of the enormous symbolic influence that Rome had on the world of Late Antiquity. It is to this major urban center, which had made a city out of what once was merely a world, that we now turn our attention. The present chapter will lay out both the Christian topography and history of Rome and the liturgical and literary sources for Roman stational worship from the fourth to the tenth centuries.

¹ RUTILIUS NAMATIANTUS, *De reditu suo* 1:47-66, in DUFF, J. W. and DUFF, A. M., *The Minor Latin Poets*, (= LCL), Cambridge, MA., 1962. The passage reads:

Exaudi, Genetrix hominum Genetrixque deorum,
Non procul a caelo per tua templa ...
Quantum vitalis natura tetendit in axes,
Tantum virtuti pervia terra tuae.
Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam;
Profuit injustis te dominante expi,
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris.
Urben fecisti quae prius orbis erat.

⁶⁴ SCHWEMMANN, *Introduction*, p. 76.

A. THE CITY OF ROME: TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Although Rome certainly had a developed Christian worship prior to Constantine, it is with the turning point of the Constantinian settlement that consideration of the effect of Christianity on the urban topography can begin. At the same time it is important to isolate as clearly as possible what areas of the city were affected by the habitation of Christians both before and after the Constantinian settlement. Here caution is in order. The modern view of a city as a densely populated space with few open areas is inappropriate to the consideration of a city of the late antique world. To be sure Rome was surrounded by the Aurelian walls (272-279), but this does not mean that the walls separated the city from the countryside. Population was by no means evenly distributed within the walls, for there was a great deal of green space within the city proper. Moreover, population shifts occurred with regard to the monumental center of the city on account of invasions, epidemics, floods, and water supply (or lack of it). On the other hand it does not seem that the cemeteries which lay outside the walls (because of the ban on burial of the dead within the city proper) were automatically considered discontinuous with the city, especially after the fourth century.²

Rome, located on a bend in the Tiber River about mid-way in the Italian peninsula not far from the Tyrrhenian Sea and built up on the around seven hills, had been populated for about a thousand years by the fourth century. Formerly political, social, economic, and symbolic center of a vast empire, by the time of Constantine its symbolic import had not lessened, but social and economic factors had forced the administrative center of the empire to shift in two directions: North and East. Rome was in decline politically from the mid-third century on.

The Aurelian walls, which replaced the Servian Wall of Republican times, had a circumference of eighteen kilometers with fourteen major gates leading out of the city, each named after the thoroughfare it initiated; e.g., the Porta Labicana for the Via Labicana.³ At the beginning of the fourth century the population of the city was down to around 800,000 from a high of around one and a half million at the peak of the empire in the second century.⁴ The greater part of the populace seems to have

² This is not to say that there was no distinction between what lay within the city and outside of the walls. Jerome himself (Ep. 107.1) says that the city has moved outside its gates (*movetur urbs sedibus suis*) because of the cult of the saints; cf. BROWN, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 42-44.

³ I am indebted here to KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, pp. 4-6. The literature on the topography and urban history and archeology of Rome is voluminous. Standard works include: LECLERCQ, "Rome," PIERI, *Roma Christiana*, GREGOROVUS, *History*, DUCHESNE, "Topographie," KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, KRAUTHIMER, *Corpus*, and VIELLIARD, *Recherches*.

⁴ RUSSELL, "Population," p. 65 estimates a much more conservative 172,600. In any event the population of the city was dropping rapidly from the fourth to the sixth century.

centered around the hills and in Trastevere (the quarter across the Tiber). The dwellings of the aristocracy were located atop the hills, the Palatine of course being the prime example. In the early fourth century there were an estimated 1790 *domus* (private residences and mansions) and 44,000 *insulae* (multiple unit dwellings) within the city walls.⁵ Aside from the heavily populated areas, the general configuration of the city consisted of a public monumental center (the Forum, Imperial Fora, and Capitoline), a show area in the Campus Martius (central northern part of the city) and a large green-belt mainly in the southeastern sector, where the public baths of Caracalla and Diocletian were located.

In the first century Augustus had divided the city into fourteen civil regions along topographical and not political lines.⁶ These were in turn divided into *vici* (neighborhoods). Each *vici* had its own local cult (*Lares*). At the same time a great deal of the urban area was given over to public buildings and monuments. By the fourth century there were: 28 libraries, 6 obelisks, 8 bridges, 11 fora, 10 (civil) basilicas, 11 public baths, 18 aqueducts, 9 circuses, and theaters, 2 triumphal columns, 15 high fountains, 22 equestrian statues, 80 golden and 74 ivory statues, and 36 triumphal arches.⁷ All major streets converged on the monumental center of the city which has been called "a great display of state architecture."⁸ This center of the city remained untouched by Christian monuments for two hundred years after the Constantinian settlement and more than a hundred years after Theodosius declared Christianity the religion of the state (379).

⁵ KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, p. 14.

⁶ Cf. LECLERCQ, "Rome", col. 1521. The regions are:

- I Porta Capena - neighborhood of Via Appia
- II Coelius - Coelian Hill
- III Isis and Serapis - parts of Esquiline and Oppian hills
- IV Templum - Eastern part of Esquiline
- V
- VI Atr. Semonia - Quirinal, Viminal, e. part of Pincio
- VII Via Lata - o. Part of Campus Martius, w. part of Pincio
- VIII Forum - Forum and Capitoline Hill
- IX Circus Flaminius - w. part of Campus Martius
- X Palatium - Palatine Hill
- XI Circus Maximus - Velabro, Forum Boarium & Cir. Maximus
- XII Piscina Publica - part of the Aventine Hill
- XIII Aventinus - n. part of Aventine and Testaccio
- XIV Transiberim - Trastevere and Tiber Island

⁷ KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, pp. 13-14. The list does not include temples or imperial property (i.e. the palaces). For another account of the fourth century development of Rome's topography, see KRAUTHIMER, *Three Christian Capitals*, pp. 15-39.

⁸ Cf. KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, p. 9. One should not be deceived by the title "major street." Even the Via Lata ("Broad Street") was only 10 m. wide.

1. The Early Tituli

This brings us to the topographical situation of the Christian church in the early years of the fourth century. Even though Christians probably numbered over 200,000 in the middle of the third century,⁹ Christianity itself made no real visible impact within the city. Christians did own cemeteries outside the walls, but in any case these were not prominent and any suggestion that they were regularly used for worship is more fiction than fact.¹⁰ Places for regular Christian liturgical assembly were located within the city. These were called *tituli*, deriving from the fact that they were private residences, each named for the owner whose name was inscribed on a plaque (*titulus*) attached to the house.¹¹ Nine of the known *tituli* appear to have been in use prior to the fourth century, though there is adequate proof (archeologically) for the liturgical re-arrangement of only one of them (the *Titulus Byzantius* = *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*).¹² The other eight are: *Tit. Clementis*, *Tit. Anastasiae*, *Tit. Equitii* (*S. Martino ai Monti*), *Tit. Chrysogoni*, *Tit. Sabinae*, *Tit. Gaii* (*Sta. Susanna*), *Tit. Crescentianae* (*S. Sisto*), and the *Tit. Pudensis* (*Sta. Pudenziana*). In addition, three *tituli* can be dated to the early years of the fourth century (before 312): *Tit. Callisti*, *Tit. Coeciliae*, and *Tit. Marcelli*.¹³ Therefore, prior to the restitution of church property under Pope Miltiades in 311 (while Maxentius still controlled Rome), eleven *tituli* appear to have been in use, as opposed to the twenty-five *tituli* attributed to the reign of Marcellus (308-309) in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Each *titulus* is located in or near a populous district of the city, but none would make much visible impact since they were in ordinary residences and provided for modest arrangements for worship.

2. The Lateran Basilica

This situation changed with Constantine who wished to make Christianity visible within the city. To do this he employed the most public form of building: the basilica, suitable for public gatherings and

characterized by a unified simple space, abundant light and colorful walls.¹⁴ In 313 the first Christian basilica Constantine arranged to be built was the Lateran Basilica.¹⁵ Located near the Aurelian walls on the site of former cavalry barracks in the Southeastern section of the city and built on imperial property, this was to be the headquarters of the Christian community. Construction of this basilica marked the beginning of a new phase of Christian worship, expanded tremendously in scale from former arrangements such as that of the *Tit. Byzantius*. It was oriented with the facade to the East, as in the case of most Constantinian basilicas. The building consisted of a nave and four aisles, which ended in transepts (an innovation in the basilican style which may have been added to provide better visual access to the sanctuary as well as a space for the reception of offerings).¹⁶ These aisle transepts may also have been the locus of six of the seven silver altars which the *Liber Pontificalis* mentions were part of the donation to the church.¹⁷ They also functioned structurally to allow more light into the apse and crossing area, as well as giving the building a cruciform character. The nave of the basilica terminated in an apse.

Archeological work has been unable to uncover an atrium or narthexes to the east of the Lateran basilica. There may have been instead a propylaeum at the east facade.¹⁸ Remains of a processional walkway (*solea*) have been found. It reached from the inner east wall either to the chancel (*schola cantorum*) or altar (located at the crossing of nave and transepts). It is not possible, however, to date this *solea* to the reign of Constantine; it may have been a later addition. The axis of the building is longitudinal, providing the possibility of processional liturgy, and the

¹⁴ Cf. KRAUTHMEIER, "Constantinian Basilica," p. 122. He gives the following definition of the genus basilica: "a hall designed for large gatherings — of the township, for markets, for judiciary sessions, for military drill, as lobbies, adjoining theatres, thermae and temples; finally as early as Vitruvius' time, as reception halls in the houses of the wealthy and consequently, soon, as throne rooms in imperial palaces." In the early fourth century the basilicas were strictly longitudinal in axis, pp. 124-125, 127. A selection of the basilicas will be described below.

¹⁵ This is the date given by KRAUTHMEIER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 55. PIERI, *Roma-Christiana* I, p. 9, tends to be much more positivistic in his assessment of the date. He dates the Lateran sometime in the late 320's, some 15-20 years after Constantine is in charge of Rome. Cf. also KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus V*, pp. 90-91. Krauthmeier calls the Lateran Rome's "cathedral." The title is anachronistic and even by his own later arguments somewhat misleading. We should beware thinking that from the very beginning the bishop was conceived to have a "cathedral" from which he could move out to other churches. There well may be a "great church" (*ecclesia major*) in each city, but this is not the same as saying that from the very beginning it served as a cathedral in our sense of the term.

¹⁶ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus V*, p. 29. Krauthmeier thinks they were also used as sacristies.

¹⁷ DELCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 172; cf. also T. MATHEWS, "Early Roman Chancel Arrangement," p. 94.

¹⁸ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus V*, p. 85.

⁹ EUSEBIUS, *HE* 6:43:11, quoting a letter written by Pope Cornelius to Cyprian of Carthage, ca. 258. In the Roman Christian community he enumerates: 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, lectors and doorkeepers, and over 15 hundred widows and poor.

¹⁰ VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 19; cf. also KRAUTHMEIER, *Rome*, p. 25.

¹¹ KIRSCH, *Titelkirche*, pp. 3-4.

¹² Cf. KRAUTHMEIER, *Rome*, p. 336 n. The names given in parentheses are modern names which have been changed from the original *tituli*. Some *tituli* were given names homonymous with the original donor, eg. Sabina, Anastasia. For the relation of other names (eg. Crescentianae = Sixtus) cf. KIRSCH, *Titelkirche*, pp. 8-12. For a brief description of the history of each *titulus*, cf. WILDS, *Further Essays*, pp. 53-77.

¹³ VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 35.

existence of such a walkway making processional liturgy a certainty has been pinpointed to a period before the beginning of the fifth century.

The dimensions of the building were grand (99.76 × 5 m).¹⁹ It was certainly much larger than his later basilica at Golgotha (roughly 50 × 40 m).

3. The Vatican Basilica

Constantine's best efforts to make the Lateran basilica a Christian center were eventually offset by the popularity of the shrine that marked the grave (*tropaion*) of the apostle and martyr Peter. This building too was a constantinian foundation, probably started soon after 312/9. Some parts of it were ready for use by 337. It was most likely completed during the reign of Constantius.²⁰ It is difficult to say when this basilica, first erected as a covered cemetery as were many similar martyrial shrines, was adapted definitively for liturgical use on a regular basis. Considerably larger than the Lateran (some 122 × 66 m with a nave 38 m high), like the Lateran it consisted of a nave and four aisles. The nave terminated in an apse and in front of the apse a transept that crossed the aisles and nave. The *tropaeum* was located at the chord of the apse, and the transept opened onto the nave in the first triumphal arch known in Christian architecture. The continuous transept may well have served to accentuate the space reserved for the shrine of the apostle. A fixed altar may not have been provided until the late sixth century when the floor of the apse was raised and an annular crypt was provided to make the shrine accessible.²¹ Given the position of the basilica facing the sun rising over the city it may well have been the site of the Christmas eucharist from the mid-fourth century inception of the feast. It was certainly so by the time of Leo the Great.²² A large atrium lay in front of the basilica to the West, and a portico connected the shrine to a bridge to the city itself.²³

¹⁹ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus* V, p. 92.

²⁰ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus* V, p. 272. This point is controverted. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, p. 64, argues that the basilica was not ready for liturgical use until after 354 since the Philocalian Calendar gives the locus of celebration for 29 June *ad episcopumbas*. This does not mean, however, that the basilica wasn't ready yet, since it was not at first designed for regular liturgical use but rather as a covered cemetery.

²¹ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus* V, p. 278. This was the pontificate of Gregory the Great. On the transept and general arrangement, cf. p. 284, also his, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 57.

²² LEO THE GREAT, Sermon 27, PL 54:218, (NPNF 12:122).

²³ KRAUTHMEIER, *Rome*, p. 27.

4. Other Major Basilicas

Among other Constantinian foundations were the Sessorian basilica, originally a large hall in the imperial Sessorian palace to the SW of the Lateran, some several hundred meters away. This hall was transformed for liturgical use. Eventually called *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* because it housed part of the true cross, it was a kind of chapel royal.²⁴

A modest martyrial shrine marked the spot of St. Paul's burial on the Via Ostia outside the walls. It was replaced by a huge basilica (128.38 × 65.27 m) on the model of St. Peter's after 381 under the emperor Theodosius I.

During Constantine's time a covered cemetery (so-called western basilica) was built near the site of the martyrial shrine of St. Lawrence on the Via Labicana about 1 km. from the city. Later, another wing (eastern basilica) was built connecting the grave itself to the earlier basilica.²⁵ This is the last of the non-titular basilicas built under Constantine, which figures in the later stational orders.

Among other important fourth-century basilicas should be mentioned SS. *Apostoli*, the *Basilica Apostolorum*. This was first built as the *Basilica Julia* under Pope Julius I (337-352) near Trajan's Forum and later rebuilt as the Basilica of Sts. Philip and James (later SS. *Apostoli*) under Pelagius I (555-560).²⁶ Another patriarchal basilica in Trastevere, also called Basilica Julia, is later known as *Sta. Maria in Trastevere* and replaces the nearby *Tit. Callisti*. Finally, there is the Liberian Basilica, constructed under the Pope of the same name (352-366) and later rebuilt and dedicated to the Virgin Mary after the Council of Ephesus by Sixtus III (432-440). In contrast to many of the tituli, *Sta. Maria Maggiore* was an extremely large space (71 × 56 m) and probably was intended from the first to be the site of large liturgical assemblies.²⁷

An important and innovative feature of the new basilican style in Christian worship was the extent of decoration and furnishings. Earlier pre-Constantinian Christian worship sites knew decoration, e.g., wall painting in the catacombs, in SS. *Giovanni e Paolo*, and also in the house-church at Dura-Europos on the frontier of the empire, but nothing like what we see in fourth century Rome. If modest in exterior appearance, the basilicas were lavish in their interior decoration. The first imperial donation to the Lateran alone consisted in 4,390 *solidi* for lamps, 82 kg. of

²⁴ Cf. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, pp. 14-15.

²⁵ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus* II, pp. 133-143.

²⁶ KRAUTHMEIER, *Corpus* I, p. 79, but PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, p. 72. Krauthmeier wants to place the construction of the original church during the reign of Pope Pelagius (555-560).

²⁷ PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, p. 511.

gold for liturgical vessels and 775 kg. of silver.²⁸ Thus there was every attempt to provide well-lit, glittering interiors that witnessed the richness and superiority of this form of religion. All this does not support the myth that Christianity was iconoclastic prior to Constantine, for the church plate at Cirta in North Africa is an example of the attention that had been paid to the physical ambiance of worship. However, the new legitimacy of Christianity brought it a new *éclat* and a new scale, witnessed by the size and decoration of the fourth-century basilicas.

5. The Development of the *Tituli*

In addition to the cemeterial and city basilicas, the *tituli* (older Christian community centers) continued to be used for worship. As we have seen, at least nine (perhaps twelve) had already been in use before the fourth century.²⁹ In time these were transformed into basilicas on a smaller scale than the patriarchal churches. One such example is the transformation of the *Tit. Sabinae* on the Aventine in the early fifth century under Celestine I (422-432). This new basilica built on older foundations after the sack of Rome by Alaric (410) consists of a nave, two aisles and an apse. The narthex of the church is to the West.³⁰ The present arrangement of the basilica with *schola cantorum* and two ambos is probably the best preserved witness of the post-Constantinian worship arrangement. Considerably smaller than the larger basilicas its dimensions are about 46 m x 24 m.³¹

It is also important to consider the locations of the twelve *tituli* in existence prior to the Constantinian settlement: all in or near populous centers of the city. Three (*Crisogono*, *Callisto*, *Caecilia*) were situated quite near one another in Trastevere. *Sabina* is located on the crest of the Aventine while *Anastasia* is not far away between the bases of the Aventine and the Palatine near the cattle-market (*Velabro*). *Sisto* lies on the Via Appia very near the Baths of Caracalla. *Marcellus* is on the Via Lata, the only church near the Campus Martius. *Clemente* and *Byzantis* are quite near one another on either side of the Coelian Hill. *Pudenziana* and *Equitius* are also situated near one another on either flank of the Esquiline. *Susanna*, somewhat distant from the other *tituli*, is on the Quirinale, on the street called the *Alta Semita*. Most of these centers, therefore, tended to be located at the very edges of the most populous quarters of Rome, and not to draw much attention to themselves. Some of

them must have existed prior to the restitution of church property by Gallienus (260) and probably before the Decian persecution (249-250).³²

An attempt has been made to understand the positioning of the *tituli* by dividing the twenty *tituli* that existed prior to the mid-fourth century into pairs, with the suggestions that they represent the original split of the Christian community into Jewish and Gentile congregations.³³ This argument for the existence of multiple Christian centers near one another is clever, for it cannot be denied that there were diverse congregations in the Roman Church from the earliest period.³⁴ Unity of Jew and Gentile in Christianity is a motif still witnessed in the apse mosaics of *Sta. Pudenziana* (late fourth century) and *Sta. Sabina*. However, only one of Denis-Boulet's suggested pairs (*Caecilia* and *Crisogono*) certainly existed prior to the Constantinian settlement.³⁵ By the end of the fourth century there are twenty known *tituli* in the city of Rome (five less than the twenty-five attributed by the *LP* to Marcellus) and none of them were located near the monumental center of the city.

The late fourth and early fifth centuries was a time of consolidation for the Roman church. This period lies between the loss of power of the pagan aristocracy and the sack of Rome under Alaric and the Visigoths. It is the time of Christianity's topographical triumph in the city.³⁶ Now the apostles Peter and Paul were considered as the founders of the city, a new Romulus and Remus. Thus originated the concept of the *renovatio urbis*.³⁷ By the time of Leo the Great (440-461) five *tituli* have been added to the fourth century's twenty: *Tit. Marci* (near *Marcellus* and *SS. Apostoli*), *Tit. Eusebii* (on the SE flank of the Esquiline near *Sta. Maria Maggiore*), *Tit.*

²⁸ Cf. KIRSCH, *Irerkirchen* p. 134. Kirsch attributed their foundation to the peace enjoyed by the church from Commodus (180) to Severus (235).

²⁹ DENIS-BOULET, "Titres urbains," p. 19.

³⁰ On this subject cf. especially LA PIANA, "Roman Church." He attributes the origin of the fermentum practice to the need to exhibit unity among different Christian groups in the second century, p. 217. He perceptively notes the essential difference of Christianity from its Roman neighbors: "If Christianity had been a mere religion of individual salvation nothing could have prevented its undergoing the same fate as the mystery religions and being absorbed by the general syncretism of contemporary religious and philosophical thought. But Christianity was an organization, a church, and the problem of its unity was identical with that of its uniqueness," p. 208. LA PIANA is struggling with the nineteenth-century question of the uniqueness of Christianity, especially in Ernst Froelisch.

³¹ DENIS-BOULET, "Titres urbains," p. 19. The pairs she designates are: Gaii-Cyriaci, Praxedis-Equitii, Clementis-Aemilianae, Chrysogoni-Caeciliae, Sabinae-Priscaae, Fasciolae-Crescencianae. Cf. VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 36.

³² KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, p. 35: "By the fifth century, the skyline of Rome must have been thoroughly altered by the new Christian structures that were meant to compete with palaces and public buildings and temples of the gods, from the green belt to the very center of the city."

³³ KRAUTHIMER, *Rome*, pp. 40-41; cf. also PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* II pp. 1641-1642.

²⁸ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, pp. 172-174, cf. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, p. 79 for an enumeration of the imperial donation.

²⁹ VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 35.

³⁰ KRAUTHIMER, *Corpus* IV, pp. 75-78; for the earlier foundations cf. pp. 94-97.

³¹ Cf. KRAUTHIMER, *Corpus* IV, plates.

Apostolorum (*S. Pietro in Vinculi*, near *Equitius* and *Sta. Prassede*), and *Tit. Vestinae* (*S. Vitale*, on the flank of the Quirinal).³⁸ The construction of these basilicas was consistent with the practice of placing centers of worship near the major concentrations of population. One can find no other conscious design in their distribution. By the mid-fifth century then, the *tituli* which formed the backbone of the Lenten stational organization, had all been constructed as churches.³⁹

The first complete list of these *tituli* comes in 499 when presbyters at a Roman Synod sign the *acta* with their names and titular affiliations.⁴⁰ About a hundred years later presbyters at another Roman council (595) also indicate the *tituli* to which they were attached.⁴¹ These are the lists with the number of presbyters indicated in parentheses:

Council of 499	Council of 595
Tit. Aemilianae (3)	Tit. SS. IV Coronatorum (1)
Tit. Anastasiae (3)	—
Tit. Apostolorum (3)	Tit. SS. Apostolorum (2)
Tit. Caeciliae (2)	Tit. M. Caeciliae (1)
Tit. Chrysogoni (3)	Tit. S. Chrysogoni (1)
Tit. Clementis (3)	Tit. S. Clementis (2)
Tit. Crescentianae (3)	Tit. S. Sixti (1)
Tit. Cyriaci (2)	Tit. S. Quiriaci (1)
Tit. Damasi (2)	Tit. S. Damasi (2)
Tit. Equitii (3)	Tit. S. Silvestri (2)
Tit. Eusebi (3)	Tit. S. Eusebii (1)
Tit. Fasciolae (3)	Tit. SS. Nerei et Achillei (1)
Tit. Gaii (2)	Tit. S. Susannae (1)
Tit. Iulii (3)	—
Tit. S. Laurentii (2)	Tit. S. Laurenti (1)
Tit. Lucinae (2)	—
Tit. Marcelli (3)	Tit. S. Marcelli (3)
Tit. Marci (2)	Tit. S. Marci (1)
Tit. S. Matthaei (1)	—
Tit. Nicomedis (2)	Tit. SS. Marcellini et Petri (1)
Tit. Pamachii (2)	Tit. SS. Iohannis et Pauli (2)
Tit. Praxidae (2)	Tit. S. Praxedis (2)

³⁸ VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 36-37 points out that of the twenty early *tituli* none were very far from the Servian wall. M. Lorenzo in Lucina was the furthest, ca. 300 m. from the wall. The less populous NW sector of the city had only two *tituli*; all the rest were grouped in and around Trastevere, the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Coelian, and Aventine hills.

³⁹ The last of the *tituli* mentioned in the documentary evidence is Vestinae (*S. Vitale*) under Pope Innocent I (410-417); cf. LECTERCO "Rome", col. 2390.

⁴⁰ MGH, AA XII, Berlin, 1894, pp. 410ff.; cf. KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, pp. 7-8.

⁴¹ MGH, Ep. I, pp. 366-367.

Tit. Prisciae (1)	Tit. S. Prisciae (1)
Tit. Pudencis (2)	Tit. M. Pudencis (1)
Tit. Romani (1)	—
Tit. S. Sabinae (3)	Tit. S. Savinae (2)
Tit. Tigridae (2)	Tit. S. Balbinae (2)
Tit. Vestinae (3)	Tit. S. Vitalis (2)
Tit. Vizantis (Byzantis) (2)	—

There are twenty-nine names given for the *tituli* in the 499 list. One of them (*Tit. Romani*) can be eliminated if seen as a copyist's error for "*Romanus*, *Tit. Marcelli*." Also, *Byzantis* and *Pamachii* were in reality two *tituli* which became one by joining of nearby properties. The *Tit. Laurenti* and *Lucinae* are identical. This leaves twenty-six names. The last that can be eliminated is the *Tit. S. Matthaei* which may well be a double of *Nicomedis*, for it appears as a *titulus* in no other source.⁴²

Several observations can be made with regard to these lists. First, it is evident that there are far fewer presbyters serving the *tituli* in 595 than in 499. This was probably due to the depopulation of the city during the sixth century because of war, famine, and plague. The fact that the *Tit. S. Marcelli* retained three presbyters in 595 is most likely due to the population shift toward the Campus Martius. Second, in the course of the sixth century it is obvious that all of the titular churches acquired patron saints, either by "sanctifying" the original patrons or by the addition of a new title.⁴³ It is a tribute to the strength of the sanctoral cult that churches needed to be thus named, two hundred years before the relics of the saints were brought into the city.

6. Other Stational Churches

There were also minor non-titular basilicas that formed part of the stational pattern. Two were churches of note built prior to the Gothic Wars. The first was *Sto. Stefano Rotondo* on the Coelian Hill, erected between 468 and 483. This round church showed eastern and earlier imperial influence.⁴⁴ As is the case with *Sta. Maria Maggiore*, *Sto. Stefano* is less than a mile in distance from the Lateran and may well have been built as a subsidiary church, closer to the center of the city. But even as it was being built the population was shifting away from the hills to the Tiber bend and Campus Martius areas. The Esquiline and Quirinal, however, remained fairly well populated until the end of the sixth century.⁴⁵

⁴² KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, pp. 9-12.

⁴³ On this process, VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁴ KRALTHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ KRALTHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 56.

The next important basilica is the first example we have of Christian architecture in the Forum, the old monumental center of the city. *SS. Cosma e Damiano* was the result of the transformation of a hall near the old temple of the city of Rome, which took place under Felix IV around 530. Since the district was no longer populous, it is likely that the church was built more as a showplace than to serve a congregation. It was later made a deaconry by Hadrian I (722-795).⁴⁶

The early-sixth century ushered in an important era for the city: the Gothic Wars.⁴⁷ From 536-555, Byzantines and Goths fought for control over the city. The social and economic results were disastrous, although they were by no means the beginning of Rome's decline as a major urban center. Food supplies dwindled; the water supply to the hills was cut off; country estates were abandoned; disease increased because of malaria from the swamps. If the populations around 300 had been 800,000 and around 500, 100,000, in the period after the wars it was only about 30,000.⁴⁸ Moreover, the city had still to face a Lombard invasion in 568. By the late sixth century, then, the city was a shadow of its former self, no longer politically or economically important. But Rome did retain its status as the symbolic center of the Western church.

At the end of the sixth century a figure arose to whom much of the re-organization of the city has been attributed — Gregory the Great. By 590 (the beginning of his pontificate) the population of the city had grown back to around 90,000. Many of these were refugees from the war-ravaged countryside. Gregory did not do much to affect the city topographically, but he did encourage the popularity of the martyrial shrines, especially by the addition of annular crypts to St. Peter's and *S. Lorenzo* outside-the-walls. His liturgical activity will be discussed below in chapter four.

Just prior to Gregory's accession another church was constructed in the Forum: *Sta. Maria Antiqua*. Around 550 *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina* was built, and the church of the Apostles (*SS. Apostoli*) rebuilt around 560. All of these buildings showed eastern features, a predictable development given Byzantine influence in the city during the sixth century.

The beginning of the seventh century witnessed the first transformation of a pagan temple into a Christian church. The Pantheon became *Sta. Maria ad Martyres* between 609-613 under Boniface IV. About a decade later (625-638) the old Senate House of the Forum was transformed into the church of St. Hadrian (*S. Adriano*).⁴⁹

⁴⁶ HUELSEN, *Chiese*, p. 242.

⁴⁷ On this period cf. P. LLEWELLYN, *Rome in the Dark Ages*.

⁴⁸ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁹ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 72. Transformations or additions of Christian buildings in the Forum seem to have been of more symbolic than pragmatic importance. Since the population had moved away from this area, they could hardly have been meant to serve regular congregations, but rather to express the final topographical triumph of Christianity, cf. p. 75.

Late in the same seventh century welfare centers or deaconries, imitating eastern models,⁵⁰ were organized in the city for foreigners and the poor. Among the earliest (after 684) were *S. Giorgio in Velabro*, *Sta. Maria in Cosmedin*, *S. Teodoro* and *Sta. Maria in Via Lata*.⁵¹ Meanwhile, perhaps under increasing influence and importance of Rome as a pilgrimage center in the sixth and seventh centuries, the basilicas outside the walls were permanently equipped for liturgical services on a regular basis. That the martyrial shrines drew large numbers of pilgrims to the city, as well as the fact that the church was the only civil organ capable of caring for social welfare, accounted for the development and growth of the *diaconiae* (welfare centers). This was the period in which Rome clearly became a holy city.⁵² Further, from the sixth century until the mid-eighth century reprise of Lombard invasions, there was again a considerable eastern influence in the city of Rome. It is probably the period in which most ambo and solcas were adapted from Constantinopolitan models.⁵³ It was also a time of Popes of eastern origin, especially the liturgically influential Sergius I (687-701).

The late eighth century was another era of consolidation at Rome. Under Hadrian I (772-795) the churches of *SS. Sergio e Bacco* and *SS. Cosma e Damiano* were transformed into deaconries. The same thing happened to *S. Martino ai Monti* (formerly the *Tit. Equitii*) and *SS. Nereo ed Achilleo* (formerly *Tit. Fasgiolae*) under Leo III, Hadrian's successor.⁵⁴ In the same period most of the relics were removed from the cemeterial shrines to the city — it was no longer possible to keep up the shrines outside the walls. Under Leo III there was a renewal of interest in antiquity, noted by references to many of the older names of the *tituli*.

In the ninth century under Leo IV (847-855) the Borgo (i.e. the area immediately surrounding St. Peter's) became a separate walled city, the *Civitas leonina*. It is consecrated with a special ceremony including a procession around the walls on 27 June 853. The city of Rome itself became more and more the city of St. Peter during the ninth century. Although its symbolic power was high, the population decreased to about 35,000 and remained stable for most of the Middle Ages.⁵⁵ Churches built in the ninth century tended to be located in the *disabitato* (uninhabited) sector of the city or on the edge of the *abitato*, most probably to emphasize continuity with the Rome of the past.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Cf. H. MARROU, "L'origine orientale," also VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, pp. 121-122.

⁵¹ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 77. These buildings had little topographical importance as they were originally meant to serve the poor as welfare centers.

⁵² KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 80.

⁵³ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, pp. 90-91, 104.

⁵⁴ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 111.

⁵⁵ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, pp. 111-120.

⁵⁶ KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 138.

In conclusion, several observations can be made about Rome as a Christian city:

a) The process of Christianization was anything but automatic. The Christian triumph in the topographic sense became evident only at the very end of the fourth century. There was no Christian architecture in the monumental center of the city until the early sixth century.

b) There was an articulated modulation in the scale of buildings intended for Christian worship: from the lavish basilicas built within the city, to the large martyrial shrines outside the walls, to the more modest *tituli*, intended for smaller groups of worshippers.

c) The attempt to make the Lateran Basilica the center of Christian activity was a relative failure, relative, that is, to the shrine of St. Peter and other basilicas closer to the populated areas of the city.

d) By the mid-fifth century all of the *tituli* later used in stational services had been constructed. Deaconry churches only appear in the stational lists after the eighth century. In the latter part of our period from (795-816) seventy-six of the ninety new churches between 500 and 816 were added. Thirty-two were situated on or near the hills (areas of low population); twenty-eight in the Campus Martius, the Forum or Velabro; and sixteen in the Borgo and Trastevere.⁵⁷

e) Throughout the period the social, economic, and political fortunes of Rome diverged from its religious import. Despite its waning fortunes as the capital of the Roman empire and the fall of the empire in the West, it gradually becomes *Roma Aeterna*, the newly-founded city, the city of the Apostles, and finally the city of St. Peter.

f) The sixth and seventh centuries were peaks of Byzantine influence in the architecture of the city as well as its religious and political life. At the end of the eighth century the city turned its face northward to the Frankish kingdom, the new Roman empire.

This then is the physical and social context in which the relation between the city of Rome and developing forms of Christian worship can be understood.

■. SOURCES FOR ROMAN STATIONAL LITURGY

Source for the episcopal stational liturgy of the city of Rome are more varied and more extensive than those for the Jerusalem liturgy. Here we shall describe them with a view to understanding the development of the Roman stational pattern as a whole, so that its origins and meaning can ultimately be understood.

⁵⁷ VIELLIARD, *Recherches*, p. 109.

I. The Philocalian Calendar and Liber Pontificalis

The first source relevant to the development of stational liturgy in Rome is not, strictly speaking, a liturgical source. It is the Philocalian Calendar or Chronograph of 354, an elegant calendar with lists of paschal dates, prefects of the city, burial dates of bishops and martyrs of Rome, a civil calendar, and a chronicle of the emperors as well as notices of the urban regions of the city.⁵⁸ The work is also called the Liberian Catalogue. The work of Furius Dionysius Philocalus, it was presented to Pope Damasus (366-384).

The calendar is of interest because it lists the date of the *depositio* of both martyrs and bishops as well as their place of burial in the cemeteries outside of the city. The list of bishops was composed for 354, while the list of martyrs was completed by 336. All of the martyrs and bishops mentioned are Roman, with the exception of Cyprian of Carthage (14 September) whose notice reads: *Romae celebratur in Callisti*, and Perpetua and Felicity, of North Africa on 7 March (*Perpetuae et Felicitatis Africae*). There are several indications that this calendar reflects liturgical usage. First, it is apparent that although the martyr Cyprian is not buried at Rome his memorial was celebrated (*celebratur*) by the Christian populace (or a portion of it) on his *dies natalis* in the extra-urban cemetery of Callistus. Second, the *depositio martyrum* contains two notices of commemoration not linked to the burial of martyrs.⁵⁹ One is the birthday of Christ on 25 December and the other the *Natale Petri de Cathedra* on February 22, a date which had marked a pagan feast of all the dead at Rome.⁶⁰ Stational notices are not given for these celebrations, but they were most likely eucharistic; otherwise they would not have been mentioned.

The importance of the Philocalian Calendar lies in the fact that memorial celebrations are tied to specific places on specific days. Twenty-five days in the year are singled out for commemoration,⁶¹ many in cemeteries a good distance from the city walls. One cannot be certain that all of these martyrs' celebrations were stational (in the sense that the bishop of Rome always presided) and considered the official city liturgy of the day, for it would have been impossible for the bishop to celebrate in four different cemeteries (Priscilla, Maxinus, in *Jordanorum*, and

⁵⁸ Cf. DUCHESNE, *Liber Pontificalis* I, pp. vi-vii; also LECLECO, "Philocalus," col. 1594-1600. It is also called the Liberian Catalogue.

⁵⁹ On the relationship between early Roman burial practice and liturgy related to it, cf. SICARD, *La liturgie de la mort*, esp. pp. 1-238.

⁶⁰ Cf. DENIS-BOULET, *The Christian Calendar*, p. 59.

⁶¹ The *Depositio Episcoporum* of 354 has twelve entries, cf. DUCHESNE, *Liber Pontificalis* I, pp. 10-11. On the nature of the strictly local nature of the martyr cult, cf. DELBAYE, *Origines*, also BROWN, *Cult of the Saints*.

Practextatus) all on the same day (10 July, the Seven Brother Martyrs). At least by the mid-fourth century at Rome, eucharistic celebrations were often tied to specific sites on specific days. Seeds of stational practice within the city are manifest here, since the character of a liturgical celebration is determined by date and place.

The second source of information on Roman stational liturgy is also not strictly liturgical. The *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter LP) is a chronicle of the Roman bishops and their activities from St. Peter on. Duchesne has shown that its listings to the end of the fifth century are filled with historical inaccuracies and is thus somewhat unreliable. The first edition was probably prepared for Felix IV around 530.⁶² Each notice has the same character consisting of the name of the Pope, his country of origin, the name of his father, the number of years he held the episcopacy and the dates, the names of the Roman consuls, his major achievements, how many ordinations he performed, where he was buried, and the date of his death. Notices become longer as more information is available. Contemporary notices begin around 496.

For us most of the relevant material in the LP deals with the topography of the city, the building of churches, their furnishings, and information of the stations. Evaristus (799-105?) is credited with the organization of *tituli* in the city and with the provision that there be seven deacons, one for each of the seven regions organized by his predecessor Clement.⁶³ The establishment of Ember Saturdays, special days of fast and ordinations, is attributed to Calixtus (2nd c.).⁶⁴ These ember days later figure in the stational system. Pope Urban (222-230?) arranged that there be twenty-five chalices and patens for the twenty-five *tituli*.⁶⁵ To Pope Dionysius (259-268) is attributed the assignment of presbyters for the *tituli* and the ecclesiastical organization of the cemeterial churches and *parrochias* (parishes) outside the walls of Rome. This is the first of the stational indications in the LP which may have valid historical foundation. Marcellus (308-309) may well have established twenty-five *tituli* within the city and arranged for the clergy of these to supervise the cemeteries. The LP testifies that he established them: "quasi diocesis propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex paganis et propter sepulturas martyrum."⁶⁶ This is the first indication in the LP of the organization of places of Christian assembly within the city itself.

⁶² DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. xli, for the ms. tradition, cf. esp. pp. clxiv-cvvi.

⁶³ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 126.

⁶⁴ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 141.

⁶⁵ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 157.

⁶⁶ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 164. "...like dioceses for the baptism and penance of the multitudes who converted from paganism as well as for the burial of martyrs."

Another important and unique facet of Roman stational liturgy is the practice called *fermentum*, which consisted of the distribution of a portion of the episcopally consecrated bread to the *tituli* from the stational eucharist on day of major celebration.⁶⁷ This practice is attributed to Miltiades (311-314).⁶⁸

From Sylvester on much of the information contained in the LP deals with the construction of church buildings under different popes and also with their furnishing. Properly liturgical data are given with regard to Celestine (422-432), of whom it is said: "Hic constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim ex omnibus."⁶⁹ This psalmody at the beginning of the eucharist was later called the *antiphona ad introitum* (introit)⁷⁰ and intimates that an expansion of the scale of worship may be attributable to the stational system.

Further donations of liturgical vessels which relate specifically to the celebration of *stationes* in the *tituli* are mentioned in the LP notice for Hilary (461-468). In addition to a gold *scyphus* (a large two handled cup for the wine at communion) are mentioned twenty-five silver *scyphi per titulos* and twenty-five silver *amae* (smaller chalices).⁷¹ To Pelagius (556-561), successor of Vigilius in the war-troubled sixth century, is attributed a procession (*letania*) as a means of mollifying his opposition. This procession went from St. Pancratius (outside the walls) to St. Peter's, a route of about 3 km. Hymns and spiritual canticles were sung along the way.⁷²

The next notice of stational interest refers to a visit of the emperor Constans II Pogonatos to Rome during the pontificate of Vitalian (657-672). The emperor upon his reception (5 July, Wednesday) was taken to St. Peter's. On the following Saturday he went to Sta. Maria Maggiore and then on Sunday with a procession *cum exercitu suo, omnis cum cereis* to St. Peter's again, where the eucharist was celebrated. The next Saturday

⁶⁷ The practice of the *fermentum* will be further discussed below under the Letter of Pope Innocent I.

⁶⁸ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 168.

⁶⁹ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 230. "He arranged for the 150 psalms of David to be sung antiphonally by all before the sacrifice."

⁷⁰ On this development, cf. JUNGEMANN, *MRA* I, pp. 320-333.

⁷¹ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 244. The notice reads: "In urbe vero Roma constituit ministeria qui circumirent constitutas stationes." ("In the city of Rome he arranged for liturgical vessels, which would circulate in the established stations").

⁷² DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 303. This reads: "Eodem tempore Narsis et Pelagius papa consilio inito, data letania ad sanctum Pancratium hymnis et canticis spiritalibus venerunt ad sanctum Petrum apostolum." The ambiguity of the text (ad sanctum Pancratium) may suggest that the procession began within the city and that St. Pancratius was the major stopping point or *statio*. The origin of the term *letania* for procession will be dealt with in chapters four and six.

he went to the Lateran basilica and on Sunday to St. Peter's.⁷³ The emperor seems to have been led on pilgrim rounds.

The Syrian Pope Sergius (687-701) is credited with the introduction of processions on the feasts of the Virgin: 2 February (*Hypapante* = Presentation), 25 March (Annunciation), 15 August (Dormition of the Virgin) and 8 September (Nativity of the Virgin). The *letania* (procession) on these days proceeded from S. Adriano in the Forum to Sta. Maria Maggiore, where the stational eucharist was celebrated. This is one of the earliest indications of *collectae* (meetings at one church to go in procession to a *statio*) in the Roman liturgy.⁷⁴

More *collectae* processions are attributed to Stephen II (752-757) of whom the LP says:

Hic beatissimus vir pro salute provinciae et omnium Christianorum omni sabbatorum die lactaniam, postposito neglectu, fieri statuit unum quidem sabbatum ad sanctam Dei genitricem ad Praxepem, alium vero ad beatum Petrum apostolum et alium ad Paulum apostolum.⁷⁵

In mid-eighth century Rome, therefore, processions took place at least weekly. On alternating weeks the people processed to shrines of the great protectors of the city: Mary, Peter, and Paul.

Another factor in the development of stational worship is the gradual filling in of the calendar. The LP informs us that Gregory II (715-731) added the Thursdays of Lent to the calendar. Prior to him Thursdays had been aliturgical, for no stational eucharist was celebrated on those days.⁷⁶

At the turn of the ninth century we have the first mention of the Great Litany in the LP. The notice for Leo III (795-816) mentions that the poles of this procession were S. Lorenzo in Lucina along the via Lata and St. Peter's. There are indications, however, of the *lactania septiformis* which go back to Gregory the Great in 590.⁷⁷

The two sources considered so far offer scattered but valuable references to the existence of a stational system at Rome, suggesting that the Roman church may have begun to organize a stational system as early as the mid-third century with the establishment of the twenty-five *tituli* for the administration of baptism and penance.

⁷³ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 343.

⁷⁴ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, p. 375-376.

⁷⁵ DUCHESNE, *LP* I, 443.

⁷⁶ DUCHESNE, *LP* II, p. 402. The notice reads: "Hic quadragesimali tempore in quintas ferias celebrata fieret in coenaculo, quod non agebatur, instituit." His successor, Gregory II is said to have instituted a new *statio* in the cemetery of Petronilla to be celebrated annually. Most likely this was on May 31, her feast day, since there is no mention of this station in any of the lists.

⁷⁷ DUCHESNE, *LP* II, p. 4; for Gregory the Great, see MGH, *Epp.* 2, p. 102. This will be discussed below in chapter four.

2. The Letter of Innocent I and Homilies of Gregory the Great

There are two other sources which should be described before turning to the earliest stational list. The first is a letter from Pope Innocent I in 417 to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, an Umbrian town. The letter is a rich mine of information on liturgical matters such as initiation, the reading of the diptychs, penitential practice, the giving of the *pax*, and fasting on Saturday.⁷⁸ But the crucial paragraph for our purposes deals with the sending of the *fermentum* to the *tituli* on Sunday:

De fermento vero, quod die Dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, cum omnes ecclesiae nostrae intra civitatem sint constitutae. Quorum presbyteri, quia die ipsa propter plebe sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt; ideoque fermentum a nobis confectum per acolytos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communione, maxima illa die, non judicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto; quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramento nec nos per coemeteria diversa constitutis presbyteris destinamus in presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habeant atque licentiam.⁷⁹

This paragraph is filled with information on Roman practice. In the first place it seems that Decentius need not have asked about this practice because it is unique to Rome. Secondly, there is a three-fold division of liturgical practice at Rome. There is the papal "rite" or the eucharist celebrated by the bishop; another usage in the *tituli*, where presbyters celebrate (or possibly distribute communion) because all of the faithful could not attend the papal stational mass; and finally a usage in the cemeteries and parishes outside of the walls, which are too far for the sacrament to be carried. Thirdly, the *fermentum*, portion of the papally consecrated bread, is carried to the presbyters in the *tituli* by acolytes so that the eucharistic practice of the Roman church might be a unified one. This is crucial information for the urban stational liturgy.

⁷⁸ *PL*, XX: 553-561; for a critical edition with French translation and commentary, cf. CABÉ, *Lettre*, pp. 26-28.

⁷⁹ CABÉ, *Lettre*, pp. 26-28. Other mentions of the practice include *OR XXXB* (of the latter quarter of the eighth century), which is Frankish, but based on Roman use. The LP attributes the organization of the practice to Melchisedes (311-314) and Siricius (384-399). These are not unreasonable attributions, cf. DUCHESNE, *LP* I, pp. 168-216, and comments by CABÉ, pp. 50-53. My translation of the text is as follows:

Concerning the *fermentum*, which we send to the titular churches on Sundays, it is needless for you to ask, for all of our churches are set up within the city. As to the presbyters who are not able to join with us (in the main eucharist) on Sundays because of the people they serve, these receive the *fermentum* made by us from the acolytes, so they may not judge themselves separated from our communion, especially on Sundays. This practice ought not be observed in the outlying churches nor in the cemeterial churches, for we have assigned presbyters there who have the right to confect the sacrament (which in the first place should not be carried too far).

Another set of data on Roman stational practice which does not come from a liturgical source as such is the indication of the places and dates on which Gregory the Great gave many of his homilies. They are:⁸⁰

- Hom. 3 Basilica of St. Felicity
Cemetery of Maximus, Via Salaria
die natal ejus 23 Nov.
- Hom. 6 Bas. of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, Via Labicana
3rd Sunday Advent
- Hom. 9 Basilica of St. Sylvester
Cemetery of Priscilla, Via Salaria
die natal ejus 31 Dec.
- Hom. 11 Basilica of St. Agnes
Cemetery of Agellus, Via Nomentana
- Hom. 13 Basilica of St. Felix
Cemetery of Felix, Via Portuense
die natal ejus 14 Jan.
- Hom. 23 Bas. of Sts. Nereus and Achilles
Cemetery of Domitilla, Via Ardeatina
die natal. cor. 12 May
- Hom. 27 Basilica of St. Pancratius
Cemetery of Calpodius, Via Aurelia
die natal. ejus 12 May
- Hom. 32 Bas. of Sts. Processus and Martinian
Via Aurelia
die natal. cor. 2 July
- Hom. 37 Basilica of St. Sebastian
Cemetery ad cacumbas, Via Appia
die natal. ejus 20 Jan.

It is difficult to say whether Gregory celebrated each martyr's feast every year in the same place; that is, whether or not we have a witness to a system here. In fact one of the indications points in the other direction, namely the notice of homilies being given for the same date (12 May) in two fairly distant basilicas (one on the Via Aurelia and the other on the Via Ardeatina). It seems highly unlikely, if not impossible, that Gregory could have celebrated at both in the same year. Rather it seems that from year to year Gregory chose which martyrs' feasts he would celebrate and preach at. The distances of several kilometers in each case suggest that martyrs' days never fit into the stational calendar as such, but were celebrated as *ad hoc* occasions, when the bishop saw fit to preside.

⁸⁰ SCHUSTER, *The Sacramentary* I, p. 225 gives this list.

There are, however, indications in the Sunday homilies of Gregory that he celebrated in a stational fashion; i.e. using different churches.⁸¹

Within the city itself Gregory was certainly accustomed to celebrating the eucharist in a stational fashion. However this period seems to have preceded that of a fixed stational pattern, for the churches he mentions as stations on the dates assigned do not fit into the pattern revealed by the first complete stational list.

3. The Earliest Roman Epistle Lectionary: Comes of Würzburg

Stational lists for the Roman church are found in several types of liturgical books. Early liturgical practice knew no missal, i.e. a book with all of the rubrics, chants, lessons and prayers for the eucharist. Rather each order of ministry had a book appropriate to it. Thus there were *ordines* or books of liturgical directions for those in charge of the day's worship, antiphonaries for the *scholae*, cantors, and singers, epistolaries for the readers, evangeliaries for the deacons at the gospel, and sacramentaries for the presiders.⁸²

The earliest extant Roman stational list is part of an epistolary or *comes*, probably copied near Würzburg in the eighth century (Ms. Würzburg Cod. 62).⁸³ Its content suggests an origin earlier than the eighth century. It witnesses a liturgy whose origin was Roman stational practice: only Roman churches are indicated as the *stationes* for the eucharistic liturgy. A *terminus ad quem* can be determined from the lack of Thursdays in Lent, provided by Gregory II (715-731), and two feasts of the Virgin (25 March and 8 September) introduced by Sergius (687-701). Thus the list witnesses Roman practice prior to the end of the seventh century.

A *terminus a quo* is somewhat more difficult to ascertain. Chavasse suggested that the list predates Gregory the Great and may be from the early sixth century, ca. 520.⁸⁴ Morin attributed the list to the late sixth century, with the exception of the notice of Easter Friday at *Sta. Maria ad Martyres*, dedicated ca. 609. Since this notice is missing in the opening table, it may well have been a later seventh-century addition to the list.⁸⁵ In my opinion the list may well reflect practice prior to Gregory the Great, but the *ad Martyres* notice combined with the fact that Gregory himself did not follow the stations in this list, suggest that the origin of the list as

⁸¹ SCHUSTER, *The Sacramentary* I, p. 225. The 40 homilies are given in PL 76: 1075-1312.

⁸² Cf. JUNGMANN, *MRR* I, pp. 60-66 for a fuller description. Cf. also VOGLÉ, *Introduction*, who gives a thorough and up-to-date history of the development of each type of liturgical book.

⁸³ MORIN, ed., "Comes," pp. 41-74.

⁸⁴ CHAVASSE, "Lectionnaire," esp. pp. 84-88.

⁸⁵ MORIN, "Comes," p. 73.

reflecting a system of practice in Rome is the early seventh century, thus subsequent to Gregory the Great.⁸⁴

Despite the somewhat incomplete nature of the calendar (i.e., with respect to later developments) we see a fully developed Lent, except for the celebrations of Thursday in the first five weeks. The second Sunday of Lent is lacking because the long vigil and ordinations on the Ember Saturday preceding it made a eucharistic celebration on that day superfluous. No processions are mentioned, which may well be due to the fact that processions had no epistle readings. There is, however, an epistle given for the eucharist on the day of the Great Litany, but nothing is explicitly said about the procession.

4. Roman Gospel Lectionaries

The next relevant purely Roman lectionary with stational list is the evangeliary or Gospel book of the same Würzburg collection (Ms. Würzburg Cod. 62). This lectionary belongs to what Klauser denominates as Type II, and Frère as the "Earlier Type."⁸⁵ Morin first published an edition of the lectionary in 1911.⁸⁶ It offers useful comparison with the Comes of Würzburg, and can be dated to the mid to late seventh century. This Gospel Lectionary is useful because it witnesses a rapid development in the stational system.⁸⁷

Although there are a number of changes, the basic disposition of the stational system has remained the same. There are no changes of stations during Lent, except for the clarification that the second Sunday has no liturgy of its own. The Spring Ember Week has been shifted into the Octave of Pentecost, a position which remains fixed. There are stations given for martyrs' days when it is not clear where they are to be memorialized (e.g., July 10 when a number of saints are remembered). Two feasts of the Virgin have been added, but no stations are assigned to them. As yet there is no station or set of stations given for the Great Litany, although the *termini* of the litany procession were set at S. Lorenzo in Lucina and St. Peter's at least from the time of Gregory the Great.⁸⁸ The later evangeliary tradition fills in a number of the lacunae that still exist in the Würzburg gospel list and its contemporaries (Type II).

⁸⁴ For this list which will serve as our base document for the Roman stational system see appendix §4.

⁸⁵ KLAUSER, *Capitulum*, pp. 1-3. FRÈRE, *Studies II*, pp. 59 ff.

⁸⁶ MORIN, "Liturgie et Basiliques," pp. 296-300. Further stational listings for this and other Roman sources will be given in anglicized form for the sake of clarity.

⁸⁷ Differences in the Würzburg gospel list are given in appendix §5.

⁸⁸ In fact none of the Gospel lectionaries down to the mid-eighth century given stations for the Great Litany, cf. KLAUSER, *Capitulum*, pp. 25, 71, 122, 151.

5. The Gregorian Sacramentaries

Chronologically, the next full list of the Roman stations is given in the sacramentaries. The origins of these books containing the prayers of the presider at the eucharist as well as other eucharistical forms are obscure. As far as the manuscript evidence is concerned, we know of no attempt at making collections of the celebrant's prayers until the late fifth century.⁸⁹ The earliest collections were not sacramentaries as such but rather *libelli missarum*, collections of sets of masses for several feasts. One such collection, that of Verona ms. 85, has been misnamed the Leonine Sacramentary. D. M. Hope has shown that the date for the latest prayers of the collection is around the time of Pope Vigilius (537-555).⁹⁰ Therefore, the Verona collection is a witness to practice of the Roman church prior to the time of Gregory the Great.⁹¹ There are several stational references among the many mass sets.

The first such reference reads: "In Pentecosten ascenditibus a Fonte."⁹² This probably refers to the baptistery of the Lateran, at which initiation took place on Pentecost. By this time, however, St. Peter's did have a baptistery and it does later serve as the station for Pentecost Sunday. A second notice refers to a second celebration of the eucharist on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul. This celebration is at S. Paolo.⁹³ Presumably the first was at St. Peter's. It is possible that there were two stational eucharists on this great feast of the Roman church, given the fact that there were multiple stational eucharists on Christmas and possibly by this time at Easter. On July 11 there are several locations mentioned for the eucharist: the cemeteries of Priscilla, in *Jordanorum*, Maximus, and Praetextatus.⁹⁴ In addition, stations are mentioned for three other martyrs' feasts in the Verona collection. In each case it would not otherwise be clear where the martyr's feast should be celebrated, since these had no church of their own, which would make a station obvious.⁹⁵ There was no need, then, to name the stations for most martyrs' feasts — they would be obvious to all.

⁸⁹ Cf. VOGEL, *Introduction*, p. 29. Cf. also BOURQUE, *Étude*, JUNGEMANN, *MRK* I, pp. 60-63. GAMBER, *Sakramentartypen*. For an up-to-date discussion of the Sacramentary tradition, cf. DESHUSSES, "The Sacramentaries" pp. 13-60.

⁹⁰ Cf. HOPE, *Leonine Sacramentary*, pp. 34-77, 132-133.

⁹¹ Cf. VOGEL, *Introduction*, p. 34.

⁹² FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, p. 24.

⁹³ FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, p. 49. The formula (§ 26) for the feast reads: "Item ad scum Paulum."

⁹⁴ FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, p. 50.

⁹⁵ FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, pp. 85, 90, 106 for St. Stephen (August 3), St. Sixtus (August 6), Felicitas and Agapetus, and the Dedication of the Basilica of the Angels (September 29).

There is a final indication in the Verona manuscript which is relevant here. It deals with processions during the December Ember Week. The notice reads:

Invitatio plebis in jejuniis mensis decimi.

Hac hebdomade nobis mensis decimi sunt recensenda jejunia. Quapropter fidem vestrae dilectionis hortamur ut eadem quarta et sexta feria solitis processionibus exequentes sabbatorum die hoc ipsum vigilis sollempnibus expleamus quatenus apostolicis suffragantibus meritis propitiationem Dei nostri perseverantia debitae servitutis obtineat. Per ...⁹⁸

Here we have a clear indication that by the mid-sixth century, if not earlier, the Roman church was accustomed to penitential processions on the December Ember Wednesday and Friday and to a solemn vigil on the Saturday on the same week.

More pertinent in the development of the stationary system is the tradition of the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, which witnesses a truly papal book of prayers. As close as one can come to the original state of this Roman book, one sees that there are many Sundays for which there is no formula. Stations were not, therefore, necessarily a weekly occurrence. This tradition is preserved in a number of manuscripts. Among them the one that seems to represent the oldest clearly papal stage seems to be *Ms. Cambrai 164*.⁹⁹ Copied around 811-812, this mass book witnesses that tradition of the Gregorian called the *Hadrianum*, because it was sent to Charlemagne, as an example of pure Roman practice, around 785-786. The Gregorian Sacramentary presents both temporal and sanctoral sets together in chronological order.¹⁰⁰ The *Hadrianum* does not contain masses for the Sundays after Epiphany, the octave of Easter or Pentecost. The earliest stratum of the Gregorian Sacramentary tradition stems from the time of Honorius (625-638). This does not mean that elements of the sacramentary cannot date prior to Honorius, but rather that the book as a whole in its earliest discernible state is from the early seventh century. The form of *Hadrianum* itself, however, dates from the mid-eighth century given the inclusion of all four feasts of the Virgin, set by Sergius (687-701) and the Thursdays of Lent set by Gregory II (715-731). The eighth-century state of the *Hadrianum* is the concern here, for it shows how the stationary

system has been filled in what we observed in the earlier types of gospel lectionary. The system itself remains very much the same, but there are important additions.

The first information relevant to stationary liturgy comes with the *Ordo Missae* (literally, *Quartier Missa Romana Caelebratur*) at the beginning of the sacramentary. This order states that the eucharist begins with an introit psalm and *kyrie eleison*. On Sundays and feasts the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* is sung. However, when there is a procession (*laetitia*) there is no *Gloria* or alleluia chant in the mass. This is another sign of the penitential character of the Roman processions. The brief order of mass also contains the eucharistic prayer of the Roman church, the Roman canon. This prayer contains two lists of saints, numbering twenty-seven in all (three more are mentioned in other manuscripts directly related to *Cambrai 164*).¹⁰¹ Of these twenty-seven (mostly Roman) saints, seventeen have stationary churches in the city.

With regard to the development of the stationary system itself, there are a number of additions or changes vis à vis the Würzburg gospel list.¹⁰²

Perhaps most significant here is the addition of a *collecta* (church for the start of the procession) at St. Anastasia on Ash Wednesday. The Gregorian is the earliest source to mention *collectae* in the Roman church. The notice, with the prayer for the beginning of the procession reads:

*Collecta ad sanctam anastasiam. Concede nobis, domine, praesidia militiae christianae sanctis incoare jejuniis, ut contra spirituales nequitias continentiae muniamur auxiliis. Per ...*¹⁰³

All in all there are six *collectae*, not counting the Great Litany, mentioned in the *Hadrianum*. Four of them are on the major feasts of the Virgin.

There are also a number of new stationary feasts with stationary indications mentioned in the *Hadrianum*. In addition, there are several minor stationary notices in the *Hadrianum*. These include the mention of a prayer *ad fontes* after vespers on the first Sunday of Lent. This took place no doubt at the Lateran, the primary church for initiation in the city.¹⁰⁴ There are also stations *ad fontes* and *ad sanctum* after vespers at the Lateran from Easter Sunday through Easter Friday.¹⁰⁵ On Easter Saturday there is a prayer *ad fontes* after vespers at St. Mary Major.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ FELTOE, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, p. 114.

⁹⁹ Cf. DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire grégorien I*, esp. pp. 50-63. Deshusses shows why the *Hadrianum* tradition reaches back further than that of the Padua Gregorian (*Ms. Padua D47*). He thus holds with LITZMANN, *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, and against BAUMSTARK-MÖHLBERG, *Älteste erreichbare Gestalt*.

¹⁰⁰ A good summary of the textual history of the Gregorian sacramentaries is in VOGEL, *Introduction*, pp. 67-81; cf. also DESHUSSES, "The Sacramentaries". On *Cambrai 164*, cf. GAMBER, *CLLA I*, §720; on *Padua D47*, *CLLA I*, §880.

¹⁰¹ Those saints who have no other mention in the *Cambrai ms.* are: James the Apostle, Matthew, Simon, Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Marcellus, Ignatius and Perpetua. The three saints who figure in an allied *ms.* (*Modena O. 7*) are Thomas, Bartholomew and Barnabas; cf. DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien I*, §301 (p. 707), §202 (p. 700), §161 (p. 698) respectively. Cf. also KENNEDY, *Saints*.

¹⁰² See appendix §6.

¹⁰³ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien I*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁴ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien II*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien I*, pp. 193-201.

¹⁰⁶ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien I*, p. 203.

Finally, for the first time stations are given for the route of the Great Litany on April 25. The procession is to begin at St. Lawrence in Lucina on the Via Lata, and proceed out the Flaminian Way to St. Valentine's martyrial basilica outside the city walls. Then it crosses the Milvian Bridge, stops at a cross whose placement has not been identified, and once again at the atrium of St. Peter's before processing into that church for the Eucharist.¹⁰⁷

Thus the *Hadrianum* provides us with the Roman stationary system as it stands in the eighth to tenth centuries, the end of our period.¹⁰⁸ However, there is further important stationary information contained in the final Roman source to which we now turn.

6. The *Ordines Romani*

The *Ordines Romani* are sets of directions for the performance of the liturgy. They describe services of initiation, the liturgical hours, ordinations, and the eucharist on different days of the year for both Roman (papal) and extra-Roman liturgical uses. The most useful collection has been edited by M. Andrieu.¹⁰⁹ There are so few ritual directions in the sacramentaries themselves that a guide is needed through the elaborate ceremonial. Of course, the *ordines* are not liturgical books in themselves but rather guides to the conduct of the service itself.

In his extensive research Andrieu has concluded that none of the *ordines* can be dated before the beginning of the seventh century.¹¹⁰ The use of these orders enjoyed a lifetime lasting from the seventh to the tenth century, when pontificals and ceremonials began to appear.¹¹¹ The fifty *ordines* of his edition can be divided into two collections, each copied in Frankish territory. The first collection, A, witnesses more or less pure Roman practice, while the second collection, B, is heavily gallicanized. Both collections may have been made for purposes of popularizing the

¹⁰⁷ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien* I, pp. 211-212.

¹⁰⁸ One can observe the changes made in the Roman Missals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by consulting the stationary lists in WILLIS, *Further Essays*, pp. 21-32. Comparison with Willis' list and the sources treated here will reveal that I have omitted the Roman Antiphonaries. This has been done because they parallel developments in the lectionaries and sacramentaries. The best source for the stationary indications of the Antiphonaries is HERBERT, *Antiphonale*.

¹⁰⁹ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani*. Hereafter specific *ordines* will be referred to in the notes by *Ordines Romani* vol. number and page, in the text by the number of the specific *ordo* and section number.

¹¹⁰ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, pp. 409-413. (Re. OR XI).

¹¹¹ VOGEL, *Introduction*, p. 108; cf. also ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* I, pp. 494-548.

Roman liturgy.¹¹² Very few of the orders were transcribed in Italy; none were copied in Rome itself.¹¹³

Each of the *ordines* described has a complex manuscript tradition. Since there are some fifteen that relate directly to a Roman urban practice, it would be unwieldy to treat the manuscript traditions here, and so we shall rely on Andrieu's conclusions. The order of discussion will be: first, those *ordines* treating stationary eucharist, second, those which deal with ceremonies for specific feasts, third, the Great Litany, and finally, by way of comparison with earlier information on the *collectae*, a twelfth century list printed by Mabillon in his collection of *ordines Romani*.

■. *Ordo Romanus I*

This *ordo* is the earliest complete description of the papal stationary rite. It dates from the early eighth century¹¹⁴ and begins with the duties of the deacons assigned to each of the city's seven ecclesiastical regions (§ 1). Each region also has subdeacons assigned to it (§ 2). On each day of the week deacons and other clergy of each region are responsible for being present (under severe penalties for absence) to help at the stationary Eucharist, if there is one (§ 5). They are allotted in this fashion:

Sunday	- Third Region
Monday	- Fourth Region
Tuesday	- Fifth Region
Wednesday	- Sixth Region
Thursday	- Seventh Region
Friday	- First Region
Saturday	- Second Region

The clergy of each region on the day assigned are to accompany the Pope from the patriarchum at the Lateran to the stationary church and assist until the end of the service (§ 6). For example, on a solemn day like

¹¹² Cf. VOGEL, *Introduction*, p. 116: "La Collection A a été un facteur de propagande, accréditant dans les régions de liturgie galloise les usages de la ville de Rome, compilée à la fin d'une initiative puvée par un admirateur de la liturgie romaine."

¹¹³ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, p. xlix.

¹¹⁴ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, pp. 38-51. For an accurate and brief description of each order in Andrieu's collection, cf. VOGEL, *Introduction*, pp. 131-181. The 700-730 dating of OR I is based on several factors. First, it contains the *Agnus Dei* during the fraction, introduced by Sergius (687-701). Second, it was under the same pope that the Lateran palace's name was changed from *episcopium* to *patriarchum*, the term used in this *ordo*. Finally, provision is made for the celebration of stations at the *diaconiae*, which is not likely prior to Gregory II (715-731). Thus, Andrieu accepts the date affirmed earlier by DELCHESNE, *Origines*, ed. 5, p. 158. OR I can be found in ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, pp. 67-108. Reference numbers from that text will be given here.

Easter (the feast described in this particular *Ordo*) all of the acolytes of the third region, as well as the *defensores* of all the regions, are to accompany the pontiff to the station church (§ 7). The Pope rides to the station (Sta. Maria Maggiore) on horseback. A large retinue surrounds him, composed of soldiers, regional notaries, subdeacons, members of his household staff and other officials (§§ 8-10). En route requests are made of the pontiff for both blessings and money and favors (§§ 12-13).

On Easter Sunday¹¹⁵ the regional notary stops the procession on the Via Merulana to tell the Pope how many baptisms have been performed the previous night at Sta. Maria Maggiore (§15). The *ordo* notes that the same ceremony takes place on subsequent days when the papal station procession goes to St. Peter's and St. Paul's (§§ 16-17).

On stationary days all clergy but those who must be involved in the procession precede the Pope to the station church, perhaps in procession behind the regional silver station cross with the people of their own region. Presbyters and bishops are seated in the apse prior to the Pope's arrival. Meanwhile, the clergy of the station church greet the pontiff as he arrives outside the church; several of them hold thuribles (§26). The Pope goes to the *secretarium* (sacristy) to vest. He is assisted by two deacons who hold him up on either side (*sustentatus a diaconibus*). The archdeacon prepares the gospel book which is carried to the altar in a separate procession (§ 29). We are not told what the people do prior to the introit procession. One can imagine that they might have been involved in prayers and singing.

After the vesting has taken place (§§ 30-36) the Pope is informed of the names of the cantor and lector. These may not be changed during the service (§ 37). He signals with his *mappula* (a ceremonial napkin worn over the left arm) and the schola begins the introit psalm. Seven acolytes light up their torches and, led by the thurifer, the procession goes down the central aisle of the nave. At the end of the procession comes the Pope, once again assisted by deacons (§ 46).¹¹⁶

As the pontiff nears the *schola cantorum* two acolytes approach him holding open a box (*capsa*) containing a portion of the eucharistic bread consecrated at the previous stationary mass. The Pope reverences it, and, if

¹¹⁵ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, §. 69: "Id est in processione apostolice ad stationem et in egressu sacrali usque ad missarum consummationem." KOSTERS, *Maßgaben römischen Ordines*, p. 5 thinks that OR I relates only to the procession on Easter Sunday. However, he neglects references to other services and concern with the responsibilities of the various ecclesiastical regions, as well as the question of orientation which is not appropriate to an occidental church like that of St. Mary Major.

¹¹⁶ The *sustentatio* in addition to being a courtly gesture from imperial ceremonial (cf. JUNGMANN, *MRR* I, pp. 69-70, esp. note 10) may also have had practical application in that the vested ("clothed") pontiff must have been weighed down considerably by his *paramenta*. I am indebted to A. KAVANAGH for this suggestion.

there is too much, orders some to be put away. The rest is used later on in the service (§48). On arrival at the *schola* (the enclosure with barriers in front of the sanctuary, where the choir is located) the acolytes divide, four to the right and three to the left, making way for the Pope to walk through. He then walks between them, bows his head, raises himself up, prays silently and crosses himself. He gives the sign of peace to one of the bishops present, to the arch-priest and to all the deacons (§49). Then he nods to the head of the choir as a signal for the *Gloria Patri* to conclude the introit psalm. An *oratorium* (prayer rug) is placed before the altar and the pontiff prays on it until the antiphon of the psalm is completed (§50). He then rises, goes to the altar, kisses the gospel book and the altar itself and finally goes to the throne and the apse where he stands facing east (§51).

When they have finished singing the antiphonal verse to the introit psalm, the choir immediately takes up the *kyrie eleison* and continues until the pope nods that enough *kyries* have been sung. It is difficult to discern here whether the *kyries* are sung simply or whether the *Deprecatio Gelasii* is meant. Here the text calls the *kyrie* a litany:

Scola, vero, finita antiphona, intonat kyrie eleison... Prior vero scolae custodit ad pontificem ut ei annuit quando vult mutare numerum laetantiae et inclinat se pontifice. (§52).

The pope then intones the *Gloria in excelsis*. The hymn is followed by the original beginning of the Roman eucharist, the greeting *pax vobis* and then the opening oration (§53). (It should be noted that the *ordo* is probably intended for more celebrations than on Easter Day; otherwise there would be no need to mention that the pope had to turn around to face the people while intoning the *Gloria*, for at St. Mary Major he would already have been facing them if turned toward the east). This brings us to the end of OR I's elaborate entrance rite.¹¹⁷

There are three other facets of the stationary mass worthy of note. Each takes place after the eucharistic prayer. After the *Pater noster* has been recited the Pope takes a piece of the *sancta* (which had been shown to him at the beginning of the service) and places it in the chalice while announcing: "Pax domini sit semper vobiscum." (§95).¹¹⁸ The peace is exchanged, and then the fraction takes place, but (and this is the second facet) there is no mention of the *fermentum*. It may well have disappeared as a practice by the beginning of the eighth century. Surely by this time there would be so many churches in the city that the rite had become impractical. The third facet is the announcement of the next station. This

¹¹⁷ For a description of the rest of the rite, cf. GRISAR, "Stationsfeier," pp. 385-422; KLAUSER, *History*, pp. 59-77; ATCHLEY, *Ordo Romanus* and JUNGMANN, *MRR* I, pp. 67-74.

¹¹⁸ ANDRIEU, *Les ordines* II, p. 98.

takes place after the pontiff has communicated at the throne and performed a second *commixtio*, this time with the bread from the present mass. The order reads:

Deinde venit archidiaconus cum calice ad cornu altaris et adiuvant stationem ita:

Illo die veniente, statio erit ad sanctum illum foras aut intus civitate. Resp. Deo gratias. (§ 108)¹¹⁹

The announcement, of course, performs the practical service of letting everyone know where the next station will be, but it may hearken back to a time when the stationary pattern was not organized and such an announcement was not only useful but necessary.

b. *Ordo Romanus II*

The second *ordo* is an expansion of the first. It also witnesses pure Roman practice, but in this case when a bishop or presbyter officiates at the stationary liturgy in place of the pope. This order can be placed around 750 in Rome.¹²⁰ When compared with OR I there are several changes in the service. First, the substitute may not sit on the papal throne in the apse of the church. Second, the celebrant must take a piece of consecrated bread (here called *particula fermenti*) from the previous papal eucharist and place it in the chalice at the time of the first *commixtio*.¹²¹

c. *Ordo Romanus XXII*

This *ordo* for the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday is part of the Gallicanized collection (B) and has been dated around 790-800.¹²² Andrieu maintains that is one of the *ordines* written with a view to introducing Roman practice in Frankish lands. The key is that there is a mention of Sta. Sabina as the *statio* for Ash Wednesday. However, it is useful here for there is clearly an attempt to describe Roman practice.

¹¹⁹ The actual wording of the announcement is given only in one ms. = *Ms. Wolfenbüttel 4175*. A similar announcement is made during the baptismal scrutinies of OR XI. At the end of the eucharist at which the scrutinies take place on the Wednesday of the third week of Lent, a presbyter announces where on the next Saturday the next scrutinies will take place. ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, p. 426 (OR XI, §37). This order may be as early as the late sixth century. cf. p. 409.

¹²⁰ ANDRIEU, *Les ordines* II, p. 112.

¹²¹ ANDRIEU, *Les ordines* II, p. 155 (OR II: 6). Note here that the meaning of *fermentum* shifts to the particle of the eucharistic bread (called *sancta* in OR I) which is placed in the chalice at the stationary mass and not that which is sent to the *trulli*.

¹²² ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 254-255. The text of the order is pp. 259-262.

All of the people gather (*collegunt se*) at Sta. Anastasia around the seventh hour (i.e. early to midafternoon). The pontiff arrives and vests in the sacristy. The *schola* chants the introit psalm as he enters the church and goes to the altar. Then he prays, using the traditional form of *Oremus... Flectamus genua ... Levate* and then the oration (§4). At the end of the prayer the choir takes up the antiphon for the procession (*antiphona per viam*). As the procession nears "the church" the litany is sung. Here again the pope enters the sacristy and the introit antiphon is repeated as he goes to the altar. The rest of the eucharist is as usual (§§ 8-10).

What is somewhat surprising, given the lack of corroborating evidence in the stationary lists, is that the *ordo* goes on to claim that similar processions are held on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays throughout Lent. They are to include special prayers for the king (*pro Carolo rege*) which Hadrian instituted (§13). Thus apparently there is no procession on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The Tuesday/Thursday simple (non-processional) order is to be followed by all who do not participate in the stationary liturgy:

Ceteri vero episcopi aut presbyteri qui collectam ■ faciunt vel statio non fuerit in ipsa ecclesia per totam ebdomadam similiter faciunt quomodo isti ■ duobus diebus peragunt (§ 15).

The order goes on to explain that the *Gloria in excelsis* is not sung during Lent and also mentions peculiarities of the eucharist when there is a procession:

Nam, quando letania agitur, nec Gloria in excelsis Deo, nec Cyrieleison post introitum nec Alleluia cantur, excepto letania maiore (§ 16).

Making an exception of the Great Litany is odd, for the Gloria and Alleluia are not sung at the eucharist on the day of the Great Litany. Andrieu explains it by saying that the compiler of the *ordo* here shows his lack of thorough knowledge of Roman practice. At any rate, the *Kyrie* is certainly dropped when there has been a procession containing the litany.

OR XXII, despite the gallicanizing difficulties, gives a valuable picture of the unfolding of the stationary procession. It consisted of prayer, psalmody and the litany from one church (*collecta*) to another (*statio*) and alerts us to the possibility that there were *collecta* processions on most days of Lent, despite the lack of evidence in order sources.¹²³ It is also clear that non-stationary (i.e. presbyteral) liturgy at Rome was far simpler than the main public forms of worship (§ 15). These factors will be important in our analysis of the development of Roman stationary practice.

¹²³ Cf. below, concerning Mabillon's OR XVI, which is evidence for a later organization of *collectae*.

d. *Ordo Romanus XXIII*

This next *ordo* describes the service of the Paschal triduum in the city during the first half of the eighth century (700-750).¹²⁴ It appears in only one manuscript (*ms Einsiedeln cod. 326*) and is apparently the work of a non-Roman interested in the liturgy of the city. Andrieu calls it a kind of "aide-memoire." The title given is *De sacro triduo ante pascha*.

Several stational indications are contained in the *ordo*. On Thursday the Pope descends from his quarters to the Basilica of the Lateran around the seventh hour. This is for the eucharist at which the chrism is blessed (§2). The blessed chrism is distributed as the *fermentum* had been and still was on Holy Saturday — *per (er) t(i)l(u)los et per alias ecclesias* (§7).

On Friday the pontiff descends barefoot to the Lateran at the eighth hour (§9). A light is lit from an oil lamp; it is to precede the pontiff in a procession from the basilica which is accompanied by the psalm *beati immaculati* (Ps. 119). The archdeacon holds the left hand of the pope, who carries a thurible in his right hand. Behind the pope is another deacon who carries the reliquary of the cross (§11). The procession goes to Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme where the reliquary is placed on the altar, opened by the pope, and venerated by all (§§13-15). A word service ending with the *orationes sollemnes* follows the veneration (§§17-20). After this the pope returns to the Lateran in procession, accompanied by the same psalm as the procession to Sta. Croce (§21). Communion is given at Sta. Croce from the reserved sacrament only after the pope leaves. Some receive communion there and others communicate at other churches or *tituli* (§22).

On Holy Saturday the papal service begins at the seventh hour, but the pontiff is not yet in attendance (§23). There is a light service from a fire hidden on Good Friday and then the vigil readings begin. After the vigil readings a procession goes to the Lateran baptistery where the pope blesses the water (§28).¹²⁵ The procession has been accompanied by the *schola* singing the litany three times with the refrain *Christe audi nos*.¹²⁶ When the baptisms are completed (well into the evening — *jam sero*) the

¹²⁴ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 265-266. The dating comes from the absence of a blessing for the paschal candle.

¹²⁵ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, p. 272. No specific mention is made of when the pope appears at the vigil. Perhaps he first takes part at the font itself.

¹²⁶ The text is somewhat confusing for it reads: "Et dum hoc completum fuerit (vigil readings), descendit ad fontes. Et dicit schola cantorum laetania III vicibus, Christe audi nos, et reliqua." ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, p. 273. The correct grammatical form of *laetania* here should be *laetantias* as below (§72): "Postquam facit clericus laetantias II et III tertia intrant ad missam jam sero..." I have translated the ambiguity as — the *schola* saying (singing) the litany three times.

procession returns to the basilica, once again to the accompaniment of the litany (§32).¹²⁷

e. *Ordo Romanus XXVII*

The next order describes Roman practice in the later half of the eighth century.¹²⁸ It is really a joining of two *ordines*. The first part (§§1-66) deals with the period from the fifth Sunday of Lent up to the paschal vigil. It is of Frankish origin and therefore of no interest here. The second part (§§67-94) deals with vespers in Rome during Easter week.¹²⁹

At the appointed time during the afternoon of Easter Sunday the *schola* comes together with bishops and deacons in the *ecclesia major* (Lateran) *ad locum crucifixi*¹³⁰ and begins the *kyrie eleison*, a processional litany or simply a repeated *kyrie* to the altar (§67).¹³¹ After the psalmody and prayer all proceed to the baptistery with an antiphon (§§73-74). Here there is more psalmody, a prayer and procession with antiphon to the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the baptistery (§76). Finally there is a procession with the antiphon *Vidi aquam* to the Chapel of S. Andrea *ad crucem*, also in the baptistery (§77). The service ends here.

Two things should be noted. The first is that the pope does not seem to take part; rather, a *sacerdos* is mentioned. Second, after a brief meal the presbyters and acolytes return to the *tituli* to repeat vespers (§79). The same vespers order is followed throughout the week.

f. *Ordo Romanus XX*

We come now to a description of the order followed on the Feast of the Purification or Presentation of Jesus in the Temple on February 2. This *ordo* dates from the end of the eighth century (780-790).¹³² It is based on Roman practice and its value lies in the fact that it witnesses a *collecta* procession.

¹²⁷ Another order in the collection, *OR XXIV*, is not of Roman origin, for it does not mention the stational churches, but it does copy the Roman practice by having the Holy Thursday eucharist in the *ecclesia major*. The Good Friday synax is in a church other than the *ecclesia major*, cf. ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 280-283, 287 (§1), 289 (§8), 292 (§22).

¹²⁸ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 341-343. A doctoral dissertation on Roman Easter Vespers is currently being prepared by John Brooks Leonard at the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Prof. William Storey.

¹²⁹ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 339-343.

¹³⁰ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, p. 367. The order for Monday of Easter Week says that vespers is held again at the Lateran (*iterum ad Lateranensem*) and so this earlier reference must be to that church.

¹³¹ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, p. 362. The text here reads: "Conveniente scola temporis episcopis et diaconibus in ecclesia maiore ad locum crucifixi, incipiunt Kyrieleison. Et veniunt usque ad altare."

¹³² ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, pp. 231-232. Cf. also *OR XV* (ca. 750-878). ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani*, III, pp. 113-114 for another Papal order on *Hypapante*. Probably earlier than *OR XX* and not as detailed. The latter mentions a "copiosa multitudo peregrinorum."

At dawn the people process from the various churches (*diaconiae* and *tituli*) with candles in hand to the church of S. Adriano in the Forum. There they await the pope (§1). He arrives at the sacristy and puts on dark vestments as do the deacons. He then gives candles to all assistants and they process into the church to ■ introit psalm (§§2-4).¹³³ There is no *Kyrie* but immediately the oration according to the traditional form (*Oremus*, etc.) §6). Then the procession takes up:

Interim egrediuntur cruces vii, portantur a stauroforo permixti cum populo. Deinde presbyteri vel diaconi. Deinde pontifex cum diaconibus et duo vere accensas ante eum portatur et thymiasterium a subdiacono et duae cruces ante ipsum. Deinde subsequitur scola pontificem psallendo anaphona(s) (§7).¹³⁴

When the schola finishes the antiphon, the clergy in front of the pope repeat it. As the procession nears the station church (Sta. Maria Maggiore) the pontiff signals for the litany to begin; it is sung three times. As it is being completed he goes to the sacristy and enters the basilica the introit (§§8-11). There is no *kyrie* following to the introit. Here, then, we have a complete order for a *collecta* procession, similar in all major points to the procession on Ash Wednesday described in OR XXII.

g. *Ordo Romanus XXI*

This is a description of the Great litany, which takes place in Rome on April 25. The *ordo* dates from around 780.¹³⁵ It is not of Roman origin, however, for the date of the procession is not given nor are the stations along the route. Thus the order could be adapted to any city or town. There are Roman aspects here and they should be pointed out:

1. The meeting of the people, clergy and bishop in a station church. The bishop vests in dark vestments (§2).
2. Procession through the (*collecta*) church to a psalm ended by *Gloria Patri* (§7).
3. Absence of the *Kyrie*. Use of the traditional form of oration (§8).
4. The presence of seven station crosses with three lit candles on each.

¹³³ The antiphon given by OR XX: "Exsurge, Domine, adiuva nos" differs from that given in the antiphonaries, which all relate explicitly to the Virgin, cf. HESBERT, *Antiphonale* pp. 36-39.

¹³⁴ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, p. 236. "Meanwhile the seven (station) crosses come out, carried by crucifers and mix among the people. The presbyters and deacons follow. Finally the pontiff with his deacons and two lit candles carried before him as well as a subdeacon with thurible and two crosses in front of him. The schola follows the pontiff. They are singing the antiphons."

¹³⁵ Cf. ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* II, p. 239-243.

5. The litany begins as the procession nears each church used as a station en route (§11). The number of stations is not given, merely *per omnem ecclesiam ubi consuetudo est*.

6. The end of the litany seems to be Roman: "Et scola complet letania infra presbiterium. Kyrie eleison, repentes te, deinde Christe audi nos; Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis." Other saints are mentioned including Peter, Paul, Lawrence, Andrew, John and Stephen. The intercessions have a Roman character (§17).

To find more information on the Roman litany, however, one must turn to the last order in Andrieu's collection.

h. *Ordo Romanus L*

This *ordo* forms a chapter in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the mid-tenth century and is thus extremely important for the post-tenth century history of the liturgy of the city of Rome.¹³⁶ OR L is somewhat problematic since its sources include gallicanized *ordines*. It dates from the mid-tenth century, probably from the Abbey of St. Alban of Mainz and the same hand as the compiler of the Pontifical. There are two chapters in it which deal with litanies, and thus with processions. The first (§32:2) deals with the Great Litany called a "Romana consuetudo" and attributed to Gregory the Great "propter immanentem urbi caelestis irae mucronem."¹³⁷ There are seven starting points for the procession, one for each class of the faithful. From these places all process to the common starting point or *collecta* — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The division of the people and starting points are:

1. Clerics	Lateran
2. Men	S. Marcello
3. Monks	SS. Giovanni e Paolo
4. Nuns	SS. Cosma e Damiano
5. Married women	St. Peter's and St. Stefano
6. Widows	S. Vitale
7. Poor and children	Sta. Cecilia

There is no doubt as to the penitential nature of the procession, for the *ordo* prescribes:

Quam letaniam una die observare debent omnes christiani, non equitando, non pretiosis vestibus induti, cinere respersi et cilicio induti, nisi infirmas impediret (§35:4).

¹³⁶ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* V, pp. 49-79, cf. also VOGEL, *Introduction*, pp. 169, 189-293.

¹³⁷ HARTMANN, *Gregorii I Registri*, vol. II, p. 367: "De oratione pro septiformi letania".

The next chapter takes up the Rogation litanies whose origin is Gaul. Their organization on fixed days is attributed to Bishop Mamertus of Vienne (477) and are to be performed on the three days preceding Ascension Thursday (§36:1). Though these are processions of non-Roman origin there are a number of clear Roman elements involved. Among these are a great number of the antiphons as well as the identical *collecta* prayer used at S. Lorenzo in Lucina for the Great Litany at Rome.¹³⁸ The hymn *Humili prece*¹³⁹ is Gallican in origin (§36:60) as is the litany of the saints, with the mention of saints like Lambert, Martin, Othmar and Magnus (§36:79).

The rogation litany given in OR L, then, is a compilation of both Roman and Gaulish practice, giving no certain data as to the content of the Great Litany as it was performed in Rome.

I. *Ordo Romanus XVI* (Mabillon)

In the second volume of his *Museum Italicum*, Mabillon prints an *ordo* which he claims comes from two Vatican codices. The title is *Index sollemniū collectarum et stationum S.R.E.* In his introduction, he claims that it represents at least twelfth-century practice and refers to Benedict, Canon of St. Peter's (12th century) who says that there are Lenten processions on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays and that there are also processions during Emberfides as well as on Thursdays (only during Emberfides?) at Sta. Maria in Transtevere and at S. Apollinare.¹⁴⁰

The actual list, however, provides *collectae* for Tuesdays and Thursdays of Lent as well, but none for the Emberfides. Benedict's information, then, seems to coincide with that seen above on OR XXII with regard to *collectae* during Lent. The list which Mabillon prints may be somewhat later, though the latest churches contained in it come from the eleventh century. Elements of these processions may reach back to late eighth-century practice.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, §201a. Some sixty-seven antiphons are given of which thirty-seven are contained in the Roman antiphonals. Since so many of these seem to be taken in order of the antiphonal, it seems likely that it was the source of a good number of antiphons in the Frankish Rogation litany. The large number of antiphons given in OR L make one suspect that this was a source of antiphons to be sung rather than the order of the litany itself.

¹³⁹ ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* V, p. 72. This hymn was composed by Hartmann of St. Gall and used in Ps. Alcuin's *Liber de divinis officiis*.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. MABILLON, *Museum Italicum* II, p. xxxii: "Collecta fit secunda feria, quarta et sexta, et sabbato per totum Quadragesimam, in quatuor temporibus totius anni, et in quinta feria ad sanctam Mariam trans Tiberim, et ad sanctam Apollinarem." Mabillon's OR XVI is also printed in PL LXXVIII, cols. 1367-1372.

¹⁴¹ MABILLON, *Museum Italicum* II, pp. 544-548. This is unfortunately the only *ordo* in the Mabillon collection which KOSTERS, *Mabillons römischen Ordines* does not treat. The full list is given in appendix §7.

Many of the churches in Mabillon's list post-date the eighth-century Gregorian Sacramentary. Fourteen churches are not mentioned in previous stational lists. Among them, three (St. Lucia in *Septizonia*, St. Mary in *Via Lata* and St. Nicholas in *Carcere*) date from the ninth century.¹⁴² One church (the Monastery of Mary of *Domnae Rosae*)¹⁴³ dates from the tenth century, while another St. Mary in *Transpadina*¹⁴⁴ dates from the eighth century but receives this name only in the tenth century. Three churches (St. Mary in *Turri*, St. Mary in *Portica* and St. Trypho) date from the eleventh century.¹⁴⁵ Eight churches in all, therefore, certainly post-date the *Hadrianum*. It is likely, therefore, that this particular list dates only from the late twelfth century or slightly after. However, the practice of more *collectae* than we have seen in the *Hadrianum* may well date to the late eighth century.¹⁴⁶

The stational list also shows some development. There is a new station (St. Trypho) on the Saturday after Ash Wednesday. The Saturday of the fourth week in Lent now has St. Nicholas in *Carcere* as the station instead of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls. Also the Saturday of the fifth lenten week has St. John at the Latin Gate instead of St. Peter's. This day had been aliturgical in sources prior to the *Hadrianum*. Finally, Monday of Holy Week has a station at Sts. Nereus and Achilleus (as it had been in the *Comes* of Würzburg) instead of the *Hadrianum*'s Sta. Praxedes.

¹⁴² For the dates of these churches, cf. HUELSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 305, 376, 392.

¹⁴³ HUELSEN, *Chiese*, p. 331.

¹⁴⁴ HUELSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 370-371.

¹⁴⁵ HUELSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 372-373.

¹⁴⁶ MABILLON, *Museum Italicum* II, p. 545.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROMAN STATIONAL LITURGY

A. THE ORIGINS OF STATIONAL PRACTICE AT ROME

Much of the literature that deals with the unfolding of the Roman rite and especially of the relation between the city and its liturgy fails to distinguish clearly between the origins of Roman stational practice and the organization of the stational system. The same problem often arises in a confusion of the origins of stational practice and of liturgical processions. The three sections which follow are intended to clear up that confusion.

1. *Statio*

First we shall consider the use of the term *statio* itself. In Roman secular literature it has the meaning: "standing," "place of standing," "military guardpost."¹ In Christian literature the word first appears as a loanword from Greek in the second century Greek *Shepherd* of Hermas. When the Shepherd asks Hermas what he is doing, seated early in the morning, praying and fasting, he replies "*stationa ekō*". When the Shepherd presses further, Hermas replies that this means that he is fasting and that it is fasting "of the usual kind."² Christians fasted ■ Wednesdays and Fridays in opposition to the Monday and Thursday fasts "of the hypocrites" (the Jews).³

Tertullian of Carthage at the beginning of the third century witnesses a similar use of the term. For him ■ refers to a semi-rigorous fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, broken by ■ public liturgical service. He likens the keeping of the *statio* to military guard duty.⁴ *Statio* is related to days of fasting up until the sixth century in sources such as the Acts of the Martyrs Fructuosus, Augurus, and Eulogus (259), Victorinus of Pettau

¹ LEWIS & SHORT, *Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1951. "Statio" in the first sense, of standing, ■ OVID, *Metamorphoses* 9:34, LUCRETIVS, *De rerum natura* 4:388. Also meanings place, post, stations in VERGIL, *Georgics* 4:8, PLINY, *Ep.* 1:13:2.

² HERMAS, *Shepherd*, *Sim.* 5:1:1.

³ Cf. SCHÜMMER, *Fastenpraxis*, pp. 95-99; *Didache* 8:1.

⁴ TERTULLIAN, *De oratione* 19; 23:4; *De jeuniis* 2; 11; 14; *De corona* 11. Cf. also W.J. TEEUWEN, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian*, Paderborn, 1926, pp. 101 ff.

(= 305), Lactantius (fifth century), Cassian (fifth century) and Isidore of Seville (sixth century).⁵

The Christian use of *statio* has also been linked to possible Jewish roots for the Hebrew term *ma'amad* meaning priestly service in the Temple and also synagogue service on fast days has its origin in the verb "to stand"; it is translated four times in the LXX as *stasis*.⁶

But how does a technical Christian term for days of semi-fasting come to stand for the place of liturgical service in the Roman liturgy? An attempt has been made to derive the later meaning as the equivalent of *munus* or *officium*.⁷ That meaning is found in Tertullian himself who uses *statio* to denote the places where the Stoics and Academicians meet.⁸ Also in Carthage about fifty years later, Cyprian uses the term to refer to an ecclesiastical assembly (not in this case a liturgical one).⁹

In Rome in the fourth century *statio* was employed as a technical term describing a liturgical assembly of the supporters of the anti-Pope Ursinus against Damasus, held in the Basilica Julia (Sta. Maria in Trastevere).¹⁰ Along the same lines it is claimed that the word *statio*, which had become popular in second-century Latin, is linked to the attempt to preserve union in the Roman church and has nothing to do with fasting.¹¹

However, even when *statio* means fasting it is linked to some sort of prayer: private in Hermas, public in Tertullian. This is evident in the Jewish roots as well, for the Talmud (admittedly a late source — fourth-century) indicates that on fast days public processions and prayer services were to be held in the town square.¹² It seems to me, therefore, that we see a clear progression in the meaning of *statio*: from fasting, to assemblies held on fast days, to ecclesiastical assemblies, to the place denoting liturgical assemblies. We note that the services on Wednesdays and Fridays in the Jerusalem liturgy of the fourth century were *stational*,

⁵ For these references, cf. MOHRMANN, "Statio", pp. 315-317.

⁶ J. BONSIRVEN, "Statio liturgique", pp. 160 ff.

⁷ MOHRMANN, "Statio", pp. 319-324.

⁸ TERTULLIAN, *Apology* 3:6; *Adv. Marcionem* 3:18; cf. MOHRMANN, "Statio", p. 328.

⁹ CYPRIAN, *Ep.* 44:21; cf. also *Ep.* 49:31.

¹⁰ COLLECTIO AVELLANA, *Ep.* 1:3; cf. also 2:79; 1:12.

¹¹ MOHRMANN, "Statio", p. 330: "... une époque où l'accroissement du nombre des fidèles et des églises tendait à affaiblir la solidarité des chrétiens de Rome, on voulait sauvegarder l'idée, très chère à l'église primitive, de l'unité de la communauté chrétienne avec son évêque."

¹² L. AUERBACH, *The Babylonian Talmud in Selection*, New York, 1944, p. 135. Such prayer services outdoors were not unusual for Jews in antiquity, cf. SCHÖNMEYER, *Fastenpraxis*, pp. 89-91: "Dass die Juden nicht nur in den Synagogen, sondern auch draussen beteten, ist in Altertum auch ausserhalb des Talmuds mehrfach bezeugt." The Talmudic reference above is from *Tanitti Mishnah* 2:1.

¹³ ELSEBIUS, *HE* V:24:14; cf. LA PIANA, "Roman Church", pp. 201 ff. On the make-up of the early Roman Church, see BROWN, *Antioch*, pp. 92-104.

employing a special church for the observance of a fast-day liturgical service.

That *statio* was adopted as a technical term in Rome in the fourth century tells us little, however, about the origins of using different locales for Christian worship.

2. Pre-Fourth-Century Stational Liturgy

We can discern several roots of *stational* practice in Rome prior to the fourth century. First, the early Roman church was made up of many different communities. In the second century Pope Victor threatened not to send holy communion to the Asiatics who celebrated the Pascha on the Johannine date, the 14th Nisan. This points to a pluralistic situation in the Roman church itself, for it is hardly likely that Victor would send communion all the way to Asia but rather to an Asiatic community within the city itself.¹³ This is, in effect, the practice of *fermentum*, the origin of which the LP attributes to Pope Miltiades (310-314). Moreover, it was already evident in eucharistic practice at the end of the first century on in Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch that unity was a strong concern for Christians.¹⁴ In second-century Rome the presence of heterodox teachers like Marcion and Valentinus as well as the various national communities as well made eucharistic unity imperative. The mosaics at Sta. Sabina and Sta. Pudenziana are probably late examples of the need to join the *ecclesia ex circumcisione* with the *ecclesia ex gentibus*.¹⁵ The fact of diverse language communities alone would be enough to account for a multiplicity of centers of Christian worship in Rome. That there were at least 30,000 Christians at Rome in the mid-third century also accounted for the need of a number of centers of worship. There may be as many as forty Christian community centers in Rome prior to Constantine.¹⁶ There were certainly at least nine.

If Christianity was to survive as a social religion and not merely one of individualistic piety, it was necessary for the bishop of one group to unify all the diverse communities. This seems to have been a major aim of Roman bishops from Victor (180) to Callistus (217).¹⁷ One manner of achieving this goal was for the bishop to go from community to community to celebrate the eucharist. Another was to send portions of the

¹³ IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Ephesians* 20:2; *Philadelphians* 4; *Magnesian* 6, 7.

¹⁴ DENIS-BOULET, "Titres urbains", p. 22.

¹⁵ JUNGEMANN, *MRR* 1, p. 50 quotes OPILATUS OF MILEVIS, *Contra Parmen.* 2:4 (CSEL 26:39) to the effect that there were four "churches" in Rome prior to Constantine.

¹⁷ LA PIANA, "Roman Church", p. 253: "The monarchical episcopate could not prevail in Rome unless the groups were abolished, and they could not be abolished unless the characteristics which secured their individualism were absorbed and lost in the law of uniformity."

eucharist out to the *tituli* to signify the unity of celebration and hence the unity of the church at Rome. These practices may well date to the end of the second century.¹⁸

The establishment of the *tituli* from the third century at the latest is fairly certain. That these centers had their origin in disparate communities of the one church may be signalled by the fact that they were not evenly distributed.¹⁹ If the origins of the *tituli* lay in one organized community, one would expect an even distribution among them.

The third century also witnessed commemorations of the martyrs in the cemeteries. That the bishop celebrated in different cemeteries on different anniversaries points to another factor in the origin of stational practice.²⁰ In addition, the practice of announcing the next *statio* probably reflects a time when there was no stational system as such, and people would need to know where the bishop was to celebrate the eucharist next, whether in *titulus* or cemetery.²¹ This fluidity in the observance of stations may have arisen from times of persecution when it was probably necessary to move from place to place for worship as a precaution against the civil authorities. All of these factors: diversity, numbers, the desire for unity, secrecy, and martyrs' anniversaries, account for a pre-fourth-century origin to the practice of holding liturgical *stationes* in different centers.

So while *statio* was not a technical term for the practice until the fourth century, the nature of the Christian church in Rome made stational practice a likelihood in the third century if not even in the late second century. By the late fifth century there are signs that stational practice has slowly achieved the status of a definite organization.²²

¹⁸ KIRSCH, "L'origine", pp. 143-144 wants to date the origins of the practice to the third century since Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century gives no indication of a variety of eucharists at Rome. But one must consider the possibility that their "church" meant the one they belonged to, which probably had only one Sunday eucharist (i.e. the community of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus).

¹⁹ KIRSCH, *First Churches* pp. 17, 129-134.

²⁰ KIRSCH, "L'origine", p. 146.

²¹ KIRSCH, "L'origine", p. 147: "À l'origine, l'église où se célébrait l'office eucharistique solennel présidé par le Pape, aux différents jours de station, n'était probablement pas fixée, une fois pour toutes, pour chacun des jours liturgiques avec station, mais le Pape désignait chaque fois le Titulus où devait se tenir la statio et le faisait annoncer aux fidèles à la réunion de station précédente. Cependant, de bonne heure on arriva, d'une façon naturelle, à faire tous les ans l'office stational du même jour liturgique de station dans la même basilique." This presumes that the archdeacon's announcement (which is really superfluous) in ORI is a vestige of a much older practice, when the people would have to be informed of the upcoming *statio*.

²² DUCHESNE, LP I, p. 230. Note the slow pace of the process. One should not imagine that Christian liturgy was automatically transformed by the Constantinian settlement.

Indications that the bishop of Rome celebrated the eucharist in different churches come from Leo the Great (440-461). He witnesses the existence of Ember days during three seasons of the year: after Pentecost, September and December, and notes that the Saturday vigil in Ember Weeks is at St. Peter's.²³ It is also clear that the (original) eucharist on Christmas was celebrated at St. Peter's.²⁴ The use of this covered cemetery for such services is not unusual if one takes into account Leo's desire to identify the city and his papacy with the Apostle, Peter.²⁵ A sermon is also attributed to Leo on the feast of St. Lawrence, presumably at his *martyrium* on the Via Tiburtina. Here he compares Rome's martyr-deacon patron to St. Stephen's similar position in Jerusalem.²⁶ In another sermon, Leo preached against the Monophysites at the basilica of Sts. Anastasia.²⁷

There were stational services, then, in the mid-fifth century, but the infrequent notices do not imply an organization of stations. For the beginnings of such a system, we shall have to look at Pope Hilarius, Leo's successor (461-468) who gifted the *tituli* with liturgical vessels for the stational services.²⁸ The silence of the sources about an established system as well as the innate conservatism of the Roman liturgy lead us to conclude that although stational practice was very familiar by the mid-fifth century, that for the most part stations continued to be flexible; i.e., they were announced when the need arose.²⁹

B. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN STATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Origins

We have seen that stational practice at Rome goes back to the second century on account of the size and diversity of the Roman church. The next question is: how and when did this practice develop into a system?

²³ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon* 19 (PL 54:186; NPNF² 12: 127-128. On the three ember days, cf. also *Sermon* 12 (PL 54:172); *Sermon* 17 (PL 54:182); *Sermon* 75 (PL 54:403).

²⁴ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon* 27 (PL 54:218-219; NPNF² 12:140); cf. also *Sermon* 22 (PL 54:198).

²⁵ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon* 82 (PL 54:422-428; NPNF² 12:194-196); on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (29 June). The sermon was most probably given at St. Peter's. Cf. also PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* II pp. 1515-1558 for the Petrine ideology of the period.

²⁶ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon* 85 (PL 54:435; NPNF² 12:198); "Rome is become as famous in Lawrence as Jerusalem was ennobled by Stephen."

²⁷ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon* 96 (PL 54:466).

²⁸ DUCHESNE, LP I, p. 244: "In urbe vero Roma constituit ministeria qui circumiret constitutas stationes."

²⁹ Here I agree with KIRSCH, "Origine e carattere", p. 129, who sees a low-key, practical origin to stational practice: "In principio la chiesa nella quale la statio doveva essere fatta non doveva già essere fissata in modo costante per i vari giorni liturgici, ma venir scelta secondo le circostanze dal Papa col suo presbyterio e indicata ai fedeli nella riunione precedente."

Several theories have been suggested. The first is that the Roman church developed a stational system in the fourth century as an imitation of the Jerusalem liturgy we have already outlined.³⁰ This would mean that the Roman system was part of the process of the historicization of the liturgy as major worship centers of Rome became the equivalents of the sacred sites at Jerusalem and its environs. The major proponent of this approach was H. Grisar, who likened the Roman stational liturgy to the hagiopolite *frömmen Wanderung*. He developed the following scheme for the Roman imitation of hagiopolite shrines:³¹

Jerusalem	Rome
Golgotha Martyrium	Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme
Bethlehem	Sta. Maria Maggiore
Anastasis	Sta. Anastasia
Sion	St. Peter's
Eleona	S. Paolo
Lazarium (Bethany)	S. Lorenzo

According to Grisar this use of Roman buildings for Jerusalem's sites also inspired the beginnings of the Roman system of liturgical readings attributed to Pope Damasus (366-384), even though the system did not reach completion until the addition of the three-week pre-Lenten season of Septuagesima in the late sixth century.

Grisar's linking of the Roman stational system with hagiopolite practice is an attractive idea. Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme obviously mirrors the Golgotha Martyrium, if not in structure, at least in idea. Sta. Maria Maggiore with its altar *ad praesepe* clearly is meant to provide Rome with an equivalent of Bethlehem. But one hastens to add that the Liberian Basilica did not become Sta. Maria Maggiore with its Bethlehem connections until the mid-fifth century.

However, Grisar failed to adduce any evidence that visiting Rome was ever considered the equivalent of making pilgrimage to Jerusalem shrines. Moreover, the other churches linked with Jerusalem (e.g. S. Paolo, S. Lorenzo) have no evident connections with the Jerusalem shrines. Sta. Anastasia, where the seven stational crosses were kept from the seventh century on, was not linked topographically to the Sessorian church as one might expect, nor did it have any architectural similarities to the Anastasis rotunda.³² It had no festal connections with Easter, not even during the

³⁰ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 4: "Der ursprüngliche Ort der Einführung des Stationswesens in den liturgischen Gottesdienst war die Mutterkirche von Jerusalem."

³¹ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 5.

³² HUELSSEN, *Chiese*, p. 3, according to the Salzburg Catalogue of Roman churches in the seventh century: "Basilica quae appellatur sca. Anastasia ubi cruces servantur quae portantur per stationes."

octave. Finally, its name derived not from the Greek word for resurrection but from its donor. As to the other pairs, no stational link can be made, nor are there sufficient architectural and/or topographical similarities to make Grisar's theory probable.

There is another reason that a fourth-century origin for the organized Roman stational system should be dismissed: namely, that the development of stations progressed dialectically with the development of feasts. This is clear in the case of stations which were celebrated at or near martyrs' graves on their anniversaries.³³ It is also the case with the development of so-called "Feasts of Idea,"³⁴ for example, the celebration of the Incarnation. Christmas at Rome was celebrated originally not at the Liberian Basilica, which became Sta. Maria Maggiore with Bethlehem connections only after the Council of Ephesus, but rather at St. Peter's, a likely site because that basilica's western facade faced the sun rising over the city.³⁵

Furthermore, the genius of the Roman stational system is dependent on a full-blown Lent. The earliest list which witnesses the organization of Lenten stations also witnesses a Lent whose fast begins on Ash Wednesday. This Lenten chronology had its origin only in the mid-fifth century, while the Septuagesima season was not added until the late sixth century.³⁶ The Lenten stations developed gradually with the development of the season, for it is clear that the most important and older days were celebrated in the most important churches.³⁷ Mondays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays became Lenten liturgical days only in the late fifth century.³⁸ A

³³ DELEHAYE, *Origines, passim*.

³⁴ Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, pp. 157-166.

³⁵ LEO THE GREAT, *Sermon 27* (PL 54:218) where he exhortates the faithful for hedging their bets by paying respects to the sun rising on its birthday before entering the basilica. The mons Vaticanus is an ideal site from which to watch the rising sun over the city. For other references to St. Peter's as the locus of celebration in the fourth century, cf. AMBROSE, *De virginibus* 3, 1 with regard to Liberius. In the fifth century, CELESTINE, Ep. 23 (*ad Theodas*), PL 50:456.

³⁶ Cf. REGAN, "Three Days", pp. 5-6, 11-14; also CHAVASSE, "La structure du carême", 82-84, 95-98; CALLEWAERT, "La durée", pp. 449-508. A survey of this development is found in VOGEL, *Introduction*, pp. 271 ff., although one must be cautious about accepting Socrates' (HE V; 22) statement that the Roman Lent consisted of only three weeks as its original form. Socrates may well have been speaking only of the fast and riot of Lent as the time of Preparation. Cf. RICHERT, *Manuale II*, p. 98; VOGEL, *Introduction*, pp. 273-274.

³⁷ Cf. CALLEWAERT, "La durée", p. 491. He isolates these days as: Sundays in Lent, Ember days, last four days of Holy Week, Wednesday and Saturday of Mediana Week. His comments: "Les jours du carême où la station avait lieu dans les grands basiliques étaient précisément les jours dont la célébration est attestée par les témoignages les plus anciennes, et dont la liturgie devait être la plus solennelle et présenter une caractère assez nettement tranché." p. 492.

³⁸ CHAVASSE, "La carême romain et les scrutines", p. 339. CALLEWAERT, "La durée", p. 499, however argues that the system itself must be anterior to Pope Symmachus'

fully developed Lenten system of stations was thus only possible after the mid-fifth century.

In addition to the fact that Lent with forty fast days was organized only at the end of the fifth century, we should note that only in the same period had all of the churches which made up the station system been constructed. Although S. Vitale (401-417) was the last *titulus* built, the last church on the early lists was Sto. Stefano Rotondo, completed between 468-483.

A number of reasons have been proposed for pinpointing the origin of the Roman station system in the mid to late fifth century. The first is that all of the churches which make up the system had been built by then. An additional reason may have been a desire to emphasize the positive (liturgical) side of Lent at a time when fasting was becoming central to the season.³⁹ Another approach that favors the fifth century can be taken from the topographical considerations, namely the failure of the Lateran and its baptistery to become an important urban, ecclesiastical center. The area around the Lateran never saw a developed population (until the late nineteenth century) and so, as an ecclesiastical center in name only never rivaled the more popular martyrial shrines. At the same time the demographic map of Rome was shifting off the hills and to the North and West. On this basis, R. Krautheimer contends that Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sto. Stefano, and the *tituli* were better located for popular liturgical services, and therefore were used more frequently. They seem to have witnessed a compromise in distance between the populous districts of Rome and the Lateran on the extreme side of the city.⁴⁰ This may well have been a factor in the development of the station system as first witnessed in the Comes of Würzburg. It is certainly true that the Lateran never attained the symbolic status achieved by either the Jerusalem Martyrium or the Great Church in Constantinople.⁴¹ The size (twice as large as their contemporary *tituli*) and positioning of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sto. Stefano and in the next century, SS. Apostoli seem to indicate an attempt to bring the papal liturgy into closer contact with the centers of population.⁴² Moreover, all of the new titular basilicas of the fifth century

refurbishing of the Tit. Equitii (S. Martino *ad montem*), a basilica which does not figure in the Lenten stations. This would put the organization of stations at the end of the fifth century. CHAVASSE, p. 363, thinks that the organization of the ferial days began in the mid-fifth century; cf. RICHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 118.

³⁹ JUNGEMANN, *Early Liturgy*, pp. 256-257.

⁴⁰ KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome*, pp. 5-58.

⁴¹ The activity of the papal chapel at the Lateran is another matter. In the late medieval period it had great influence on the consolidation of the Roman rite; cf. VAN DIJK, *Origins*.

⁴² KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome*, p. 58. He calls these churches extensions of the Pope's cathedral.

were equipped with baptisteries, so that they could be centers for Christian initiation as well.

Also, after the fifth century most of the areas which contained *tituli* were no longer populous neighborhoods. Therefore it seems that they were retained because of their venerable position as older Christian centers. At the same time it seems unlikely that the station arrangements would have been made on the basis of the *tituli* after the fifth century when they were far from the city's centers of population.⁴³ All of this evidence leads us to conclude that the origins of the Roman station system as such lie in the mid to late fifth century.

Other theories on the Roman station organization attribute the origins of the system to the crucial role played at the end of the sixth century by Gregory the Great (590-604), referring to the comment of John the Deacon, his ninth-century biographer:

Stationes per basilicas vel beatorum martyrum coemeteria, secundum quod hactenus plebs Romana quasi co vivente certatum discurrit, sollicitus ordinavit.⁴⁴

Mabillon takes this to mean that in composing a sacramentary Gregory also organized the station system. However, it is certain that Gregory did not re-organize the Gelasian sacramentary (not a papal mass book). He may well have added the final touches to the arrangement of the liturgical year with the Septuagesima season which has references to the ravages Rome suffered in the Gothic wars, but John's attempt to attribute the station system to him is probably the result of a desire to enhance his reputation as an ecclesiastical organizer. That the Würzburg Comes appears only after Gregory the Great is not necessarily an argument that attribution of the system to him is "substantially correct."⁴⁵

Another error is the attribution of the station system to Gregory the Great because of his involvement with processions in the Roman liturgy. This is a result of reading back from later medieval practice, for only then did liturgical processions seem to have become an integral aspect of the station practice of the Roman rite. Moreover, Schuster argued for Gregory as the organizer of the station system because there are so few

⁴³ In many cases they later became ecclesial centers for monasteries in the relatively sparsely populated areas of the city, cf. FERRARI, *Early Roman Monasteries*.

⁴⁴ JOHN THE DEACON, *Vita S. Gregorii Magni* II:18 (Pl 75:94). "With care he selected stations at the basilicas or shrines of the holy martyrs, to which the people still go today as when he was living." MABILLON, *Museum Italicum* II, p. xxii mistakenly gives the reference as 9k, III:18.

⁴⁵ WILLIS, *Further Essays*, p. 13; cf. also p. 33.

notices of Martyrial (suburban) stations in the *Hadrianum*.⁴⁶ But there are three reasons which militate against this argument which pushes the organization of stations forward to the time of Gregory. First, there is no need to mention the stations for martyrs' anniversaries; they are obvious. Second, stational distinctions are made on 10 July when there are several possible sites for the celebration. Third, extra-mural churches are often mentioned in the lists: there are a number of stations at St. Peter's, S. Paolo and S. Lorenzo, all of which lie in the "dangerous" area outside the walls. Moreover, Gregory himself regularly celebrated stations in the cemeterial basilicas as is clear from the corpus of his homilies.⁴⁷

A final theory puts the stational system's organization in the seventh century. In an attempt to untangle various hypotheses about the development of Gregorian and Old Roman chant, S.J.P. van Dijk argued that distinctions between the urban and papal rites of Rome came about during the seventh century because of Byzantine influence in the city. Thus, he contended that a definably papal (hence stational) rite was an innovation of the seventh century.⁴⁸ He credited Pope Vitalian (657-672), strongly influenced by Constantinople, as the originator of the stational system. The rite, he argued, was codified by Gregory II (715-731) who was in the main responsible for the *Hadrianum*.⁴⁹

The attribution of a Roman papal/stational rite to the influence of Byzantine court ceremonial does make sense in the context of some of the particulars of the ceremonial described in OR I, but it misses two vital points. The first is that the stational system as a whole is witnessed in a document that comes from the early seventh century at the very latest, the *Comes* of Würzburg. Second, the practice of holding stations at different churches on different feasts could and did precede the adaptation of specific ceremonial with regard to the Pope's arrival at a church and his entrance for the eucharist. Moreover, one should not confuse popular liturgical processions with the kind of procession described in OR I, as we

⁴⁶ SCHUSTER, *Sacramentary* I, p. 226: "Whatever may have been the order of the stational synaxes in use before the time of Gregory the Great, the fact — that the list given in the *Sacramentary* of Adrian systematically excludes the suburban stations of the cemeteries, which, for that matter, had from the time of the Lombards (562) come to be very unsafe."

Schuster suffers from a two-fold bias here in that he insists a priori that Gregory the Great's time is the classic age of Roman liturgical development and he focuses much priority on that development at St. Peter's without documentary evidence or argumentation. He claims that solemn baptisms were performed at St. Peter's before the Lateran (*Sacramentary* II, p. 287) but the Lateran Baptistry was certainly built first.

⁴⁷ Cf. above, chapter three, B:2.

⁴⁸ VAN DIJK, "Urban and Papal Rites", p. 435: "The only institution which could afford to have its own rite was the closely knit and outstanding organization of the papal stational liturgy, based upon the Byzantine imperial court ceremonial, directed by Master of Ceremonies and enhanced by a particular chant, performed by a specially trained choir." Cf. also pp. 462-463.

⁴⁹ VAN DIJK, "Urban and Papal Rites", pp. 467, 486.

shall see in chapter seven. In summary, then, the only arguments which are secure for the origins of a Roman stational system are those which point to the midlate fifth century.

2. The Nature and Development of the Stational System

We shall now turn to an analysis of the development of the stational scheme according to major liturgical seasons. Saints' days will not be treated since it is impossible to tell if they were regularly considered stational (i.e. episcopal) on a year-to-year basis.

a. Lent and Holy Week

The most remarkable aspect of the Roman stational system is its arrangement during Lent.⁵⁰ All of the major basilicas and titular churches (with the exception of S. Martino ai Monti, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, and Sta. Prassede) appear in the earliest lists. In fact, Lent is the only period in which many of the *tituli* serve as stations. If development of liturgical lessons and of the stational system are concurrent, then it seems that the system was devised only after Ash Wednesday was set as the beginning of the period of fasting, since two of the most venerable of the *tituli*, Sta. Sabina and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, are used on Wednesday and Friday of the week. At the same time Psalms 1 - 26 are appointed as communion psalms for the weekdays, beginning with Ash Wednesday (with the exception of Thursdays, which do not become liturgical until ca. 731).

There is no discernible system for the distribution of the *tituli* in the Lenten arrangement, except that no ecclesiastical region is repeated on successive weekdays.⁵¹ Thus there does seem to be an effort to keep the Lenten liturgy moving about the city, covering each part of it. For the most part the *tituli* are evenly distributed among the regions as are the weekday stations of Lent.

A pattern is discernible, however, in the type and size of the churches used for stational services. All of the Sundays, the Ember days, Wednesday and Friday in *Mediana* week, and Wednesday in Holy Week are observed in the major basilicas, while the weekdays, with the exception of Friday of the fifth week at St. Stefano, are celebrated in the *tituli*.

⁵⁰ RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 115 calls it "una delle più mirabili creazioni della liturgia latina." In what follows I shall not give an exhaustive treatment of each station. This has already been done by GRISAK, *Das Missale*, pp. 19-84.

⁵¹ WILLIS, *Further Essays*, p. 47 for a listing according to ecclesiastical and civil regions. He notes that on Monday and Tuesday of Holy Week SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and St. Prisca were in the same ecclesiastical region, but different civil regions. Cf. also, CHAVASSE, "L'organisation", pp. 17-32.

A major stage in the evolution of the system comes with the establishment of the Lenten Thursdays as liturgical by Gregory II (715-731). The churches employed in this addition tend to be later *diaconiae*, e.g., S. Apollinare and SS. Cosma e Damiano. A *titulus* missing from the earliest lists, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, is added, as is the newly transformed *diaconia* (formerly a *titulus*) S. Martino ai Monti. These Thursdays, of course, break the sequence of the communion psalms because they were added later than the original system.

As was mentioned above, there is a dialectical relation between the choice of stations and the readings from Scripture. It is often difficult to tell whether the reading or the *statio* was selected first. In the last three weeks, however, it seems that readings were chosen from the Fourth Gospel in order to prepare the catechumens for their upcoming initiation. These therefore influenced the choice of stations. There are cases, however, in which the readings seem to have been chosen to match the stations.⁵² Several examples of the coincidence of reading and stations follow.

S. Eusebio is the station for the fourth Friday. The gospel deals with the raising of Lazarus; the basilica is located on the site of an ancient necropolis.⁵³ The station for the third Friday is S. Lorenzo in Lucina, located over the site of a well. The site reflects the gospel of the day which is John 4:5-42, the encounter of Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well.⁵⁴ The third Saturday of Lent has a station at Sta. Susanna. On this day the story of Susanna (Daniel 13:1-9, 15-17, 19-30, 33-62) is read.⁵⁵ Sta. Anastasia is the station for the second Tuesday. This church faced two marked places and the gold exchange; the gospel about Jesus driving the money-changers from the Temple is read.⁵⁶

More complex is the choice of the station on Wednesday of the fourth week (*Mediana*) at S. Paolo. This is one of the scrutiny days for the *comperentes*, those who were about to be enlightened. The church is dedicated to one who regained his sight through faith, and the gospel (John 9:1-38) has Jesus proclaim: "Ego sum lux mundi."⁵⁷ Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme is chosen for Good Friday because this basilica was Rome's Golgotha.

These and many more indications show an ingenious connection between the city, the cycle of liturgical readings and the Lenten station

system. As far as the pre-Lenten seasons of Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima are concerned, the stations at S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo, and St. Peter's seem to form a protective ring around the city moving from the lesser to most important of the urban patrons.⁵⁸ The season arose in the sixth century when the city was most in need of protection, and its main theme is the protection of the city as is evident from the introit antiphon and opening oration of Septuagesima Sunday:

Introit: (ps. 17:5-6, 7, 2-3) Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me: et in tribulatione mea invocavi Dominum, et exaudivit de templo sancto suo vocem meam; Diligam te, Domine, fortitudo mea; Dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum, et liberator meus.

Oratio: Procees populi tui, quaesumus Domine, clementer exaudi: ut, qui iuste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur. Per Dominum.

As Lent came to a close, so did the use of the *tituli* as stational churches. Larger churches were necessary for the services that closed this liturgical season. Therefore, Sta. Maria Maggiore was employed as the station for Wednesday of Holy Week. The major ecclesial center, the Lateran basilica, was used on both Holy Thursday and at the Holy Saturday Great Vigil of Easter. Rome's Golgotha, Sta. Croce, was the station for the *synaxis* on Good Friday.

During Lent, we have in the developed Roman stational system the classic example of the relation between urban life and Christian worship. Every part of the city was employed to manifest the unity-in-diversity of the Roman church as it moved toward the pinnacle of the Christian Year, the paschal feast.

b. Ember Days

In all four seasons the Ember days are held at the same stations:

Wednesday:	Sta. Maria Maggiore
Friday:	SS. Apostoli
Saturday:	St. Peter's ⁵⁹

⁵² There is some controversy as to Gregory as the initiator of Septuagesima, cf. WILLIS, *Further Essays*, pp. 42-44 and the literature he cites. Willis notes that the three shrines are found together at several important liturgical seasons — Easter octave and Mediana Week.

⁵³ Here WILLIS' table in *Further Essays*, p. 31 is somewhat misleading when it indicates that the Comes of Würzburg has for the Spring Ember Friday — SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Saturday — Sts. Stefano. This document has two fast series after Pentecost, one in Pentecost week and the other in the fourth month (June). These fasts are combined for the first time in Pentecost week in the Würzburg Gospel list from the middle of the seventh century.

⁵⁴ This is where GRISAR's *Das Missale* is particularly useful, although at times he makes it seem as though it was only the stations which influenced the sequence of readings.

⁵⁵ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 25.

⁵⁷ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 34.

⁵⁸ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 37.

⁵⁹ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 39. In addition, the first reading, from Ezekiel 36, refers to the sprinkling of clean water, clearly an allusion to initiation.

Each of these stations has an effect on the choice of readings for the liturgy. For example, the Gospel for the Ember Wednesday in Lent concerns the mother of Jesus (Matthew 12:38-50). On the Ember Wednesday in December the gospel account of the Annunciation is read. SS. Apostoli is a church connected to Roman penitential practice. Three of the Ember Fridays (Lent: Jn. 5:1-15; Pentecost: Lk. 5:17-26; September: Lk. 7:36-50) have gospels which deal with the forgiveness of sins. In addition, the Lenten gospel's setting is the Probatic Pool, which was surrounded by five porticoes. Porticoes surrounded SS. Apostoli, and the waters from the Constantinian baths on the Quirinal emptied there.⁶⁰

The only major development in the arrangement of the Ember weeks is the shift of the Spring Ember week from the fourth month, June, to the week following Pentecost. They are finally arranged in this manner in the mid-seventh century according to the Type II Gospel Lectionaries.

c. Easter Week

The stational arrangement of Easter Week is worthy of comment. Each major basilica is visited in order of the patron's importance for the city:

Saturday vigil:	Lateran
Sunday:	Sta. Maria Maggiore
Monday:	St. Peter's
Tuesday:	S. Paolo
Wednesday:	S. Lorenzo
Thursday:	SS. Apostoli
Friday:	Sta. Maria ad martyres
Saturday:	Lateran

This scheme constitutes a grand, well-conceived tour of the Christian city, calling to mind octaves at Jerusalem. It is as if the neophytes and the rest of the faithful were being introduced to the saints important for the life of the city as they commemorated the Risen Savior.

Here again the readings have stational associations. The gospel on Monday mentions Peter (Lk. 24:13-45) and the epistle relates one of his speeches from Acts (10:37-43). Tuesday's epistle begins: "In diebus illis surgens Paulus" (Acts 13:16), and the gospel of the day ends with a reference to "omnes gentes" (Lk. 24:47). The epistle on Thursday, read at the church formerly dedicated to SS. Philip and James, describes Philip's meeting with the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-40). Since the gospel (Jn. 20:11-18) relates Mary Magdalen's meeting with the risen Christ, it may have associations with SS. Apostoli as a penitential church.⁶¹ The number

⁶⁰ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, pp. 59-61; on the church of SS. Apostoli cf. GRISAR, *History of Rome III*, pp. 86 ff.

⁶¹ This is also GRISAR's opinion, cf. *Das Missale*, p. 76.

of scriptural allusions which were appropriate to the stations cannot have been accidental. The stations of Easter week reveal the Roman stational pattern in its most logical form.

d. Advent and Christmas

Advent develops relatively late as a liturgical season. No mention of the Advent Sundays is made in the Würzburg *Comes* or 11 gospel lists later in the seventh century. It is only in the eighth century Gregorian Sacramentaries that the season is fixed to four weeks, although this may have been so already at the time of Gregory the Great.⁶² The *Hadrianum* given only one Advent station in addition to the Ember days. It is the third Sunday celebrated at St. Peter's. The sermons of Gregory the Great, however, indicate that he preached on the third Sunday at SS. Marcellino e Pietro and on the fourth (probably meaning the Ember Saturday vigil) at St. Peter's.⁶³ The Antiphonaries indicate stations for the first three Sundays at S. Andrea *post praesepe*, Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme*, and St. Peter's. The first (a monastery behind Sta. Maria Maggiore) is logically linked to the city's "Bethlehem." The second Sunday has references to the station in the Inno: "Populus Sion" (Is. 30:30) and the communion antiphon: "Jerusalem surge" (Baruch 5:5). If one looks at the series as a whole one finds Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Rome, in a logical progression.

As to Christmas, the first and (originally) only eucharist on this day was celebrated in the morning at St. Peter's, probably because of its geographical position. The Theotokos question at the council of Ephesus in 431 probably inspired the expansion of the feast in the fifth century to include a second mass *ad galli cantum* at Sta. Maria Maggiore. This may have been an imitation of the practice seen in the Armenian Lectionary — a vigil eucharist at Bethlehem followed by a morning eucharist at the Golgotha Martyrium. At some point in the sixth century a third eucharist at dawn was added at the titular basilica, Sta. Anastasia, named for the eastern martyr whose beheading was honored at Constantinople on December 25.⁶⁴ This addition may well have been a bow to the Byzantine imperial administration in the city, located on the Palatine, quite near Sta. Anastasia. A commemoration of Sta. Anastasia remained in the mass; even the Roman Missal of 1570 kept the oration in her honor.

The final shift in the Christmas sequence occurred sometime before the twelfth century when the third (originally the only) eucharistic celebration was transferred from St. Peter's to Sta. Maria Maggiore.

⁶² RICHETTI, *Manuale II*, pp. 38-41.

⁶³ GREGORY THE GREAT, Sermon 7, cf. above, chapter three, B:2.

⁶⁴ Cf. RICHETTI, *Manuale II*, pp. 60-62; also DUCHESNE, "Topographie III," pp. 403-410.

because of the length of the journey across the city. Thus it was both the topography and history of the city that influenced the development of the Christmas stations. Theological considerations played little part in this. It was the urban context itself which dictated most of the stationary liturgical development.

C. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PROCESSIONS IN THE ROMAN LITURGY

Another factor in the evolution of the Roman rite which is directly related to the urban milieu is the popular liturgical procession. Distinct from other kinds of procession, as we shall see in chapter seven, this type of procession is often equated with stationary observance. But the origins of the popular processions differ from the origins of the stationary system as such. Unlike hagipolite practice which includes popular processions by its very nature as an imitation of Christ's experience, the earliest sources of the Roman liturgy reveal no such processions. It is therefore necessary to investigate separately the origins of processions from one church to another in the Roman urban rite.

In the first place it is extremely unlikely that public processions would have been held by Christians on a regular basis prior to the Constantinian settlement. Even though there were periods of relative tolerance, public processions would have been too antagonistic in a city that did not really become Christian until the beginning of the fifth century. The stationary practice of meeting in different churches would have been a far different matter since even the major urban basilicas were not in the city's center.⁶⁵

The first evidence for public liturgical processions at Rome comes only with Gregory the Great, who in the face of an epidemic in 590, instituted a *letania septiformis*.⁶⁶ The *terminus* of this procession was Sta.

⁶⁵ Here I agree again with KIRSCH, "Origine e carattere," p. 137: "Non è possibile di ammettere che prima del secolo quarto una simile processione pubblica del cristiani per le strade di Roma si potesse fare."

⁶⁶ Cf. GREGORY OF TOURS, *Historia Francorum* 10:1 (MGH. SS aevi Merovingianum, p. 407); also GREGORY THE GREAT, MGH. *Epp.* 2, pp. 365-367 for the meeting places for the *letania septiformis* of 603. Gregory's invitation reads: "Proinde, fratres carissimi, contrito corde et correctis operibus crastina die primo diebus ad septiformem letaniam iuxta distributionem inferius designatam devota cum lacrimis mentis veniamus. Nullus vestrum ad terrena opera in agros exeat; nullus quodlibet negotium agere praesumat, quatenus ad sanctae generis Domini ecclesiam convenientes, qui simul omnes peccavimus, simul omnes mala quae fecimus deprecemur, ut peccavimus, simul omnes mala quae fecimus deprecemur, ut districtus iudex, dum culpas nostras nos punire considerat, ipse à sententia propositae damnationis pureat."

The meeting places differ in the lists from 590 and 603 thus:

I	Cosmas and Damian	Lateran	clergy
II	Gervase and Protase	John and Paul	monks
III	Marcellinus & Peter	Cosmas & Damian	nuns
IV	John and Paul	Caecilia	children

Maria Maggiore. A year later one of Gregory's letters refers to the *letania major* as a familiar practice well known at Rome.⁶⁷ The processional route was from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to St. Peter's. Hymns and spiritual canticles were sung in route and the eucharist was celebrated at St. Peter's. In 599 writing to Castorius, notary of Ravenna, Gregory referred to the Great Litany as of great antiquity.⁶⁸ *Letania* is here used as a technical term for procession. When Gregory referred to the litany sung at the beginning of the eucharist he called it a *deprecatio*.⁶⁹

The Great Litany was performed on April 25. Its origin has been attributed to Pope Liberius (352-366)⁷⁰ but this seems far too early a date for two reasons. In the first place, during the fourth century the Great Litany on April 25 would have coincided with the pagan *Robigalia*, since it followed much the same route out the Porta Flaminia. In the second place, 25 April always falls within Pentecost, i.e., the paschal season, and this season retained its festal integrity well into the fifth century.⁷¹ Therefore a supplicatory procession with penitential motifs would not have been deemed feasible. Similar processions, the Rogations instituted by Mamertus of Vienne, were not begun in Gaul until 470.⁷² These processions always fell within the paschal season. Thus, first of the Great Litany, like the Rogations (later called *letaniae minores*) probably stems from the latter part of the fifth century.⁷³

Care must be taken not to confuse popular liturgical processions with the papal processions and entrance rite of the eucharist. The origins of the latter are akin to imperial practice and their use in Rome was directly

V	Euphemus	Vitales	widows
VI	Clement	Stephen	married women
VII	Stephen	Marcellus	laymen

The 603 meeting places are the same as those indicated for the Great Litany in OR L. see above, chapter three.

⁶⁷ GREGORY THE GREAT, *Epp.* 2:2 (591 AD). (MGH. *Epp.* 1, p. 102): "Sollemnitatis annuae devotionis. Ibi dilectissimi, nos ammonet, ut letaniam quae major ab omnibus appellatur sollemnitatis ac devotionis debeamus auxiliante Domino mentibus celebrare, per quam a nostris excessibus eius misericordiae supplicantes purgari aliquatenus mereamur."

⁶⁸ GREGORY THE GREAT, MGH. *Epp.* 2, p. 166: "...quot letaniae sollemnes ab antiquitate fuerint."

⁶⁹ GREGORY THE GREAT, MGH. *Epp.* 2, pp. 301, 58, 287. With reference to that which is sung with the Kyrie at the beginning of mass, G. uses the word "deprecatio" in his letter to Bishop John of Syracuse (Oct. 598), p. 59. Cf. also HIERZBERGER, "Collecta und Satio," p. 325: "Eine letania, was in Rom vor allem Bussprozession bedeutet..."

⁷⁰ RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 228.

⁷¹ Cf. CABRE, *Pentecôte*, pp. 249 ff. On the *Robigalia*, cf. GRISAR, *Das Missale*, p. 88.

⁷² GREGORY OF TOURS, *Historia Francorum* 2:34. Cf. RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 228.

⁷³ On the procession, cf. SCHUSTER, *Sacramentary* II, pp. 355 ff. S. is correct, however, in attributing a festal character to the Great Litany of 25 April.

influenced by Constantinople.⁷⁴ Processions of all sorts are, of course, public in nature, but popular liturgical processions differ in that they are much larger in scale and succeed in bringing together people of diverse backgrounds and status. Thus, as a kind of democratic form in a very undemocratic world, they succeeded in bringing liturgy onto the streets.⁷⁵

Popular liturgical processions are not indicated in Roman liturgical sources until the Gregorian sacramentaries. In these sources, which witness seventh-century liturgical developments, the processions are noted by the term *collecta* or *oratio ad collectam* before the opening prayer on certain days.⁷⁶ In the purely papal *Hadrianum* they number only six. Three are processions on Marian feasts (25 March, 15 August, 8 September) instituted by Sergius I at the end of the seventh century. Another, the *collecta* on 1 November from SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Forum to S. Cesario on the Palatine may well reflect three-day *letaniae* at the beginning of November in the sixth century in southern France and Spain. The route of this procession cannot precede the early sixth century, for it was only then that SS. Cosma e Damiano on the Forum was built (526-530).⁷⁷ The *termini* of the *collecta* probably have Byzantine roots, in that 1 November is the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople and the chapel of St. Caesarius was located on the Palatine, the seat of imperial administration in Rome.

Another *collecta* takes place on Ash Wednesday. This procession from Sta. Anastasia to Sta. Sabina must be subsequent to the fixing of Ash Wednesday as the beginning of the fast in the late fifth century. The last of the *collectae* takes place on 11 February, the Feast of the Presentation or Hypopante, from S. Adriano in the Forum to Sta. Maria Maggiore. Once again the procession as indicated in the *Hadrianum* cannot have preceded the construction of S. Adriano (625-638).⁷⁸

None of these processions antedated the late fifth century. Moreover, they all had several features in common: Moreover, they all had several

⁷⁴ Here I agree with HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," pp. 516-517 who distinguishes between popular and papal processions in Rome on the same basis: "Von einer Prozession kann man bei diesem Stationszug des Papstes im weitesten Sinne des Wortes sprechen jedenfalls nicht in Sinn einer mit einer Collecta verbundene eigentlichen Stationsprozession."

⁷⁵ SCHUSTER, *Sacramentary* I, p. 220: "Here was the liturgy moving out into the open to meet the new needs of God's family and attract popular attention by song and scenic effect."

⁷⁶ On the origin of this term, cf. GAMBER, *Missae Romanae*, pp. 187-194.

⁷⁷ On the November litanies in Spain, cf. ISIDORE of SEVILLE, *De officiis* I:40 (PL 83:774ff.), cf. also HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," p. 532. The Spanish processions were penitential in character.

⁷⁸ HUELSEN, *Chiese*, p. 260. WILLIS, *Further Essays*, p. 76 attributes the fact that S. Adriano became the *collecta* for Marian feasts to the commemoration of St. Hadrian on September 11 in Rome. It should also be pointed out that this church on the Forum was an ideal public place as well as convenient to Sta. Maria Maggiore.

features in common: they were penitential in character, their routes are fairly short (each would take about an hour at most), and each began at a church which had a piazza in front of it.

The Paduan line of the Gregorian Sacramentary tradition, which is not strictly a papal mass book, witnessed six more *collectae*: the four Ember Wednesdays, the Wednesday in *Mediana* and Wednesday in Holy Week.⁷⁹ Each preceded important celebrations in major basilicas on penitential days. It is possible that the Pope himself did not take part in them and that they witness a growing desire for more public processions in the seventh century.⁸⁰ As far as the textual evidence and notices in the LP are concerned, it seems that popular liturgical processions were not the remains of earlier practice but on the contrary a practice that grew more popular with time. We have already noted the addition of processions on the major Marian feasts in the late seventh century. Some fifty years later, in the mid-eighth century, Pope Stephen II is credited with adding three more *letaniae* on Saturday to major basilicas. By the end of the eighth century all Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays of Lent had *collectae*. Within the next twenty years Leo III adapted the Frankish rogation litanies before Ascension to Roman use, and Benedict, Canon of St. Peter's, confirms the weekday *collectae* for the twelfth century. Finally, Mabillon's sources (which are slightly later) witness *collectae* on all Lenten weekdays except for two Tuesdays.

Thus, popular liturgical processions of a supplicatory nature reached a high point in Rome in the period that Frankish liturgical practice began to influence the Roman rite. Antiphons chosen for the processions reveal their penitential nature.⁸¹ Each *collecta* has fundamentally the same order of service:⁸²

<i>Collecta</i>	Seventh hour, people gather, pope vests, Introit psalm: papal procession to altar, Oration (with invitation and kneeling)
<i>Procession</i>	Processional antiphon and psalm, Litany (three times)

⁷⁹ DESHUSSES, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, pp. 620, 626, 629, 644, 660, 670 respectively.

⁸⁰ Here I disagree with HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," p. 520 who argues on the basis of the connection between these days and older station (Fast) days that the processions show a continuity in Roman Christian practice. Part of the difficulty is that he used the mistaken hypothesis of MOHLBERG, *Atteste erreichbare Gestalt* 46-48 that the Paduense is a more primitive papal book than the *Hadrianum*. The former, it is true, has some older elements than the latter, but it is not a papal book in a relatively pure state, as LUTZMANN and DESHUSSES have isolated for the *Hadrianum*.

⁸¹ HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, §201a-101b. In the Antiphonary of Compeigne (late eighth century) eighteen antiphons are given. These were sung with psalms along the processional route of the Great Litany.

⁸² I.e., with some differences, the Ash Wednesday *collecta* of OR XXII, the Candlemas Procession of OR XX, and the Great Litany of OR XXI.

Station Litany ends, pope to sacristy, Introit psalm, procession to altar, Oration (no Kyrie or Gloria)

The order of procession, given in OR XXI, is as follows:

Pauperes de xenodochio with *crux lignea picta*
Seven stational crosses, each with three candles
Bishops, presbyters, subdeacons
Two silver crosses and incense
Pope and deacons
Schola cantorum (*psallendo*)

Note, there is nothing terribly elaborate about the *collectae*. It has been suggested that the first part, in the *collecta* church, is derived from ancient station-day synaxes. There are parallels with the commemorative station services witnessed in Egeria, but readings are never indicated in the *Collectae*, and so the suggestion remains only a possibility.⁸³ Psalmody seems to have been central to the procession. How the people participated in this psalmody (if at all) is not entirely clear, especially since the *schola* followed the Pope and would presumably be a good distance from the rest of the people ahead. The litany may have been the truly popular part of the procession. It remains to be seen in chapter seven whether this litany corresponded at all to the litany at the beginning of the eucharist, the *Deprecatio Gelasii*.⁸⁴ Certainly responses such as *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe, audi nos*, or *Libera nos, Domine* would not have been difficult even for large crowds. Frankish litanies contained invocation of the saints and the *Laudes* of imperial (royal) and ecclesiastical leaders at the end of the eighth century.⁸⁵ When invocation of the saints became part of the Roman litany is not certain. However, Muratori published a "Roman litany" of the mid-ninth century which contained the invocation of about a hundred saints (many of them native to Rome).⁸⁶ The content of this litany is worth listing here:

⁸³ GAMBER, *Missae Romanae*, pp. 195-203 has attempted to show that the original *collectae* contained what subsequently became the first Old Testament lesson on the Ember Wednesdays, but it is just as possible and much more reasonable to see the multiple non-evangelical readings as reflecting the older practice of more than one non-evangelical reading at the eucharist.

⁸⁴ For a critical text of this litany, cf. WILLIS, *Essays*, pp. 22-24; also more recently and with other similar litanies, P. DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle*. Our immediate concerns here do not of course exhaust the genre "litany." Popular liturgical processions in their original Roman use seem not to have contained acclamations of the emperor and ecclesiastical figures (cf. KANIKOWICZ, *Laudes Regiae*, esp. pp. 13-64) nor invocation of the saints, which seems to have been an eighth-century introduction into Roman practice; cf. BISHOP, "Litany of the Saints" LH, pp. 151-160.

⁸⁵ Cf. the ordo of Angilbert for St. Riquier, BISHOP, LH, p. 325. This is an imitation of the Roman processions, given the use of seven stational crosses. Here three types of litany are distinguished: Gallic, Italian and Roman. On litanies in general, cf. CABROL, "Litanies", cols. 1540-1571.

⁸⁶ MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana Vetus* I, col. 74-77. This litany was in use before 887.

Kyrie eleison (3x)
Christe, audi nos (3x)
(Saints)
Propitius esto. Parce nobis, Domine.
Propitius esto. Libera nos, Domine.
Ab omni malo. Libera...
Ab hoste malo. Libera...
A periculo mortis. Libera...
Per Crucem tuam. Libera...
Peccatores. Te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut pacem nobis dones. Te rogamus...
Ut sanctitatem nobis dones. Te rogamus...
Ut fructum terrae nobis dones. Te rogamus...
Ut aeris temperiem nobis dones. Te rogamus...
Ut Dominum Apostolicum (illum) in
sancta religione conservare digneris.
Te rogamus...
Ut Dominum Imperatorem et exercitum Francorum
conservare digneris. Te rogamus...
Ut cunctum Populum Christianum, pretioso
sanguine tuo redemptum, conservare digneris.
Te rogamus...
Fili Dei. Te rogamus...
Agnus Dei: qui tollis peccata mundi.
Miserere nobis.
Christe, audi nos.
Kyrie eleison.

It seems that in the seventh century, the stational crosses as well as military banners (*bandera*) were also carried in the processions. Their bearers were located in the chancel for the eucharist.⁸⁷ A ninth-century notice with regard to Pope Nicholas' procession at the time of a Frankish invasion indicates that relics were also carried in the processions.⁸⁸ In at least one procession (August 15) the penitential character was accentuated by the Pope walking barefoot. In the same procession ashes were strewn over the heads of the participants and the help of God was implored insistently.⁸⁹ However, despite the penitential character of the popular processions, they must have been splendid given the employment of

⁸⁷ LLEWELLYN, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, p. 162.

⁸⁸ DUCHESNE, LP II, p. 160. Such processions could be dangerous: "One of these was attacked and broken in the street by Lewis' supporters in the city; the crosses and relics, including a part of the True Cross, were thrown to the ground and the pope himself was barely able to escape by river to the Leonine City." LLEWELLYN, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, p. 274.

⁸⁹ Cf. HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," pp. 524-525; LP I, p. 443; cf. also SCHUSTER, *Sacramentary V*, pp. 50-52.

banners, crosses, and relics. The people seem to have been organized into ranks either according to ecclesiastical region or by status, as in Gregory's *letania septiformis*.⁹⁰

So much for the character, number and development of the popular liturgical processions at Rome. What were the origins of the practice? Grisar saw them as adaptations of the *frömmere Wanderung* of the Jerusalem liturgy.⁹¹ But in the hagiopolite practice many of the processions centered around Holy Week, while only one of the Roman processions, on Good Friday, had anything like the same character.

Kirsch claims that the origins of the *collectae* lie in pre-Constantinian Rome, not in Christian use but in the pagan *pompae*.⁹² Even though there are pagan precedents for the *Litania Major* (*Robigalia*) and Hypopante (*Amburbalia*)⁹³ processions, these seem to have developed late enough to rule out any immediate influence of pagan observance in Christian practice. This is not to argue that there was no continuity at all between the pagan and Christian practices; this there must have been because, after all, they fell on the same days. But that does not necessarily prove that imitation of pagan practice was the original motive in adopting processions. Moreover, Kirsch's approach deemphasizes the penitential roots of Christian processions.⁹⁴

The thorough investigation of the origins of the *collecta* has been undertaken by Hierzegger. He attributed their origin to Christian practice in the pre-Constantinian period, linking the original station-days with the penitential character of the later processions, especially the Wednesday processions of the Padua Sacramentary, which he contended were dropped in the later Hadrianum.⁹⁵ Moreover, he argued that the Roman processions were direct descendants of the public processions mentioned for fast days in the Talmud and that same practice of fasting and prayer witnessed by Hermas in the second century.⁹⁶ Here one notes a confusion between stationary practice as such and the use of public processions. There is no evidence to prove a direct link with the Jewish practice of processions

on fast days and Roman practice. Hierzegger's desire to show how medieval Roman practice was in direct continuity with antiquity impels him to educe a connection with primitive Christianity that does not appear to exist.

It is more reasonable to suggest that popular liturgical processions were not (in contrast to the stationary practice itself) a product of the Roman milieu of worship as such. The papal liturgy of Rome, conservative and terse in its expression, did not automatically or easily adopt public processions. Beyond the conservatism of the rite and the length of time it took for Rome to be Christianized, another reason for this may have been that there was already a (pagan) pattern of worship established in the city prior to the legitimation of the Christian faith.

The foregoing is not meant to argue that there were never any liturgical processions in the Roman liturgy prior to the late fifth or sixth century. The likelihood of these will be discussed in relation to a comparative study of processions in part three. The late antique world of the Mediterranean was a world of processions. But there is simply no hard evidence for such Christian processions prior to the sixth century.⁹⁷ Analysis of their development suggests that as an annual feature on specific days this evolution was rather slow. The origins of such processions will be studied comparatively for Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople in chapter seven.

In the meantime we shall treat one further suggestion. Schuster argued that processions came to Rome from the eastern part of the empire. He claims that they originated in Antioch and were imported to Constantinople by Chrysostom, that thence were adapted in Milan by Ambrose, who in turn influenced Damasus to introduce them at Rome.⁹⁸ The problem with this attractive theory is chronology. The episcopate of Damasus ends at 384. Chrysostom could not possibly have imported processions to Constantinople until 398 when he became bishop of that city. In addition, Ambrose died in 397. However, the main lines of this

⁹⁰ Certainly at some point there was little discrimination as to the sexes, at least in processions to cemetery shrines, cf. BROWN, *The Cult of the Saints*, pp. 43-44.

⁹¹ GRISAR, *Das Missale*, pp. 4-5.

⁹² KIRSCH, "Origine e carattere," p. 140, also *Stationskirchen*, p. 14.

⁹³ DEBRUYNE, "L'origine des processions," pp. 14-26.

⁹⁴ KIRSCH, "Origine e carattere," p. 136. To say that in the seventh century five of the *collectae* were linked to feasts of the Virgin and St. Caesarius is begging the question.

⁹⁵ HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," pp. 517-521.

⁹⁶ Cf. SCHUMMER, *Fastenpraxis*, p. 89; HIERZEGGER, "Collecta und Statio," pp. 550-551. H's succinct conclusion is: "...Die Collectae des beweglichen römischen Kirchenjahres im frühen Mittelalter die Versammlung zu einer Bussprozession waren, die vor allem an den Stations-tagen der Quatember- und der Quadragesimalwochen stattfand. Diese Bussprozession dürfte an manchen Tagen ins Allertum zurückgehen."

⁹⁷ KIRSCH, "L'origine," p. 150 agrees, although he suggests direct association with the pagan *pompae* of late imperial Rome, a conclusion which I am reluctant to accept.

⁹⁸ SCHUSTER, *Sacramentary I*, pp. 219-220: "The popular procession really constitutes the new element in the late Roman station, as it developed after the Peace of Constantine. The litany and the procession are not, however, regarded as being something by itself, but as forming part of a whole complexity of rites; incorrectly called by the name of 'antiphony,' and first inaugurated in Antioch as a measure of opposition to the Arian party in that city. This new form of antiphony comprised certain popular chants of Catholic propaganda, sung amid the waving of banners and the lifting up of crosses illuminated with candles, with choirs of musicians and processions through the streets of the city. Here was the liturgy moving out into the open to meet the new needs of God's family and attract popular attention by song and scenic effect. This happy innovation from the banks of the Orontes was introduced by Chrysostom into Constantinople, and came thence to Milan in the time of St. Ambrose."

argument may be correct in that processions were introduced in Rome on the basis of Constantinopolitan practice. Given the timing of the evidence for Rome and the introduction of the *Kyrie* into the West in the early sixth century,⁹⁹ it may be that it was in this period that popular liturgical processions were introduced as well in Rome. Much of Roman *collecta* practice points to Byzantine influence, especially when one regards its terminology: "Kyrie eleison", "letania", "staurofori".¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Roman processional crosses had three candles affixed to them, a practice attributed to Chrysostom by the mid-fifth-century church historians, Socrates and Sozomen.¹⁰¹ The term used for processional chants, *antiphona*, was also Greek in origin. These terms and their referents were not holdovers from a time when the Roman liturgy was in Greek, but rather introductions in a period when there was much Byzantine influence in the city, namely the sixth century.

CONCLUSION

Several conclusions are in order:

1. The *phenomenon* of stational practice originated in the pre-Constantinian period of Rome. It was not an imitation of the worship life of any other Christian community, but rather arose out of the size and diversity of the Roman Christian community itself in the late second or early third century.

2. The *organization* of a stational system, employing the same churches or shrines year after year on the same feast, can be traced only to the mid- to late fifth-century. Thus, the origins of stational practice and the organization of a stational system differ at Rome.

3. The highpoint of the Roman stational system was Lent. During this period each year the great majority of the *tituli* and other basilicas were employed in order to manifest the unity of the Roman church throughout the entire system. There is, however, no observable logic to this system itself.

4. The greatest influence on the development of the Roman stational scheme was the topographical and social history of the city itself rather than theological or inner-liturgical considerations.

5. The origins of popular liturgical processions at Rome are distinct from the origins of stational practice and the stational organization. These can be traced only to the sixth century, a period of strong Byzantine influence.

⁹⁹ Cf. DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle*, pp. 284-285. The Council of Vaison (529) adopts the *Kyrie* in southern Gaul, saying that it has recently been introduced (*intromissa*) at Rome, cf. MANSE, 8:727.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. OR XX:7; OR XXI:10.

¹⁰¹ SOCRATES, HE 6:8; SOZOMEN, HE 8:8.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SETTING AND SOURCES FOR THE STATIONAL LITURGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Jerusalem and Rome both exercised an enormous symbolic influence on the Late Antique and Early Medieval world of Christian worship. Each city's history made it a candidate for admiration of the peoples of the Roman Empire. No less important for our study is Constantinople, whose tradition lay far less claim to symbolic status, and yet whose status from the fourth century on made it into a center for the developing forms of Christian worship. Indeed, Constantinople as a city inspired the emergence of much of what we now call Byzantine liturgy.

This chapter will survey the topography, history, and especially the Christian architecture of Constantinople from the fourth to the tenth century, providing the background for the sources which illuminate the city's urban stational liturgy.

a. TOPOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

1. The City

Constantinople (now Istanbul) was, of course, the city of Constantine. The Late Antique re-founding and re-shaping of the city was the result of conscious empire building. Located at the southern end of the Bosphorus on a promontory stretching eastward from Thrace, it is surrounded by a narrow channel, the Golden Horn, to the north and the Sea of Marmora, Propontis, to the south. Thus it holds a strategic position between the Hellespont and Bosphorus on the boundary of Europe and Asia Minor. This gave it a commanding position in the eastern half of the Roman Empire.¹ Around the year 324 Constantine the Great chose to build (or better to expand) a city here, opting for this site over others like that of ancient Troy and Nicomedia.

Byzantium had been founded as a colony of Megara in Attica in the mid-seventh century B.C. As a federated Roman colony in the second

¹ The very situation of the city afforded great geographical protection; cf. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byz. Const.*, p. 4 who remarks: "No city owes so much to its site. The vitality and power of Constantinople are rooted in a unique location."

century A.D. it backed the loser in the succession crisis of 196. The victor, Septimius Severus, had the city walls torn down and later rebuilt. The Byzantium of the second and third centuries contained a hippodrome, public baths,¹ a port, acropolis, and a large forum (agora) bounded on four sides, called the Tetrastōn.² Several hamlets, notably Xerolophos and Blachernae, incorporated into the city at a later date, were already thriving on the peninsula.

Constantine's expansion of the city seems to have begun around 324, although much construction did not start until 328.³ He enlarged the older town with walls that stretched about three km. further than the former limits. Although the city was given seven hills and fourteen regions to match the old Rome, there were actually only two main hills, neither of them exceeding fifty m. in height. One was the acropolis on the eastern end of the promontory, where the Seraglio Point is at present, the other Xerolophos, located just inside the southwestern part of Constantine's walls. The completion of both land and sea walls was accomplished under Constantius.⁴

There were four main porticoed arteries in the city. One ran along the Golden Horn and up toward Blachernae. The second ran across the southern edge of the city on the Propontis. But the two most important avenues started as one at the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace;⁵ it ran past the Milion and Baths of Zeuxippos to the Forum of Constantine and on to the Forum Tauri and the Capitol, where it divided. One part of this avenue, the Mese, ran toward the west, the Golden Gate and the Via Egnatia (to Rome). The other branch ran north past the Church of the Holy Apostles.

The main public area of Constantinople, officially called the New Rome only toward the end of the fourth century, was located west of the acropolis. Here Constantine began the construction of the Great Church and the Imperial Palace. The Palace was connected to the Hippodrome on the North, so that the imperial party could have safe and easy access to the imperial box, or *Kathisma*. Part of the old Tetrastōn was transformed into a walled, porticoed area named after the empress, the Augusteon.⁶ To the east of this plaza lay Constantine's Great Church, and to the west the imperial palace, which was not one building, but a conglomeration of buildings that expanded over the centuries. To the south of the Augusteon lay one of the two senate buildings of Constantinople, possibly later transformed into the part of the palace called Magnaura.⁷ To the NW of

¹ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 22-23.

² Cf. PIOANOL, *L'empire chrétien*, p. 50.

³ VAN MILLINGEN, *Byz. Const.*, p. 29.

⁴ Thus MANGO, *Brazen House*, p. 80; cf. also JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 37, 43; GUILLAND, *Études de topographie II*, pp. 49-80.

⁵ GUILLAND, *Études de topographie II*, pp. 40-54.

⁶ MANGO, *Brazen House*, p. 57.

the Augusteon were the Baths of Zeuxippos; directly north was located the civil basilica, which housed the university and library of the city. A large open space on the Mese lay between the civil basilica and the Augusteon. Here was located the elaborate milestone of the city (the Milion) probably set under a tetrastylon with statues; this marked the beginning of Constantinople's roads as did the *Milliarium Aureum* of the Forum at Rome.

The Augusteon was not, however, the main public meeting place of Constantinople, for Constantine founded another forum which would bear his name, located on the Mese about half a kilometer to the Northwest of the Milion. The forum of Constantine was elliptical in shape and surrounded by a portico. In the middle of the ellipse stood a porphyry column some thirty-six meters high, which acted as the focus for the forum. This column was crowned with a statue of Apollo, transformed to represent Constantine himself. Today it is called the "Burnt Column" and is still visible in Istanbul.

At the base of the porphyry column in the middle of the Forum stood an oratory, which according to various traditions contained the *Palladium* of ancient Rome and/or Christian relics including a piece of the True Cross.⁸ By the eighth century, Byzantine tradition held that the central place of Constantinople united symbols of both Rome and Jerusalem. The Porphyry column is extremely important for this study because, as we shall see, it was the locus of much public urban liturgical activity.

The porphyry column in Constantine's forum also figured prominently in the solemn dedication of the city on 11 May 330. This event was later to be solemnized annually by a liturgical celebration. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether or not there were Christian elements in this dedication of 330. The best one can say is that the real object of the city's dedication was her founder, the emperor Constantine himself.⁹

⁸ FROLOW, "Dédicace", pp. 75ff.; LATHOUD, "Consécration et dédicace", pp. 289-314; ALFOLDI, "Foundation of Constantinople", pp. 10-16; and DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 39-40.

On the placement of the palladium in the porphyry column's oratory, cf. PROCOPIUS, *Gothic Wars* I:15; *Chronicon Paschale* I, p. 528; PREGER, *Scriptores* I, p. 17; II, p. 174.

On the placement of the relic of the True Cross, cf. SOCRATES, *HE* I:17 (PG 67:120); PREGER, *Scriptores* I, p. 33; II, p. 161.

⁹ On Constantine as the object of the dedication of Constantinople, cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 39-40.

EUSEBIUS, of course, took a different tack on the dedication, cf. VC III:48 (GCS, p. 98): "And being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with special honor, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on the largest scale and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity and thus at the same time he rendered honor to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God." ET in NPNF (2nd ser.) I, p. 532.

Another important public monument in the city was its Capitol, located slightly to the North of the Forum Tauri on the East side of the Mese.¹⁰

Need for more urban space led the Byzantines to expand the city about one km out from the Constantinian walls in 413, early in the reign of Theodosius II. An earthquake caused great damage to the walls in 447 but they were quickly rebuilt in view of the imminent threat of Attila's Huns.¹¹ The area between the fourth- and fifth-century walls was called the Deuteron Pempion, (or second area). It was never to become as heavily populated as the original Constantinian city. Thus there were many gardens and open spaces in this part of the city.¹² At least six more public fora were constructed by the emperors of the Theodosian dynasty; among them the three most important were located inside the Constantinian walls on the Mese after it diverged toward the Golden Gate: the Forum Tauri (Forum of Theodosius), the Forum Bovis and the Forum Arcadii.¹³

The public areas of Constantinople seem to have resulted from planning, especially in the monumental area around the Augusteum and Forum of Constantine. Much of this was an obvious imitation of old Rome, namely the seven hills, the fourteen civil regions, the relation between palace and hippodrome, and the Milion. The population of the city seems to have remained most dense along the Golden Horn, for a great deal of the urban space was taken up by public, imperial and ecclesiastical holdings.¹⁴ The *Notitia Urbis* (mid-fifth century) gives 4,388 domus in the city as opposed to 1,790 domus in fourth-century Rome.¹⁵ Unfortunately there are no equivalent statistics given for *insulae*, which may have held more people. Population estimates for this period are difficult, as they are with all pre-modern cities. The lowest estimates have been around 87,500 for the end of Constantine's reign, 188,000 for the end of the reign of Theodosius II (450) and 375,000 for the middle of the reign of Justinian (before 541), with a decrease in the city's population thereafter.¹⁶

¹⁰ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 171.

¹¹ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 38; cf. also VAN MILLINGEN, *Byz. Const.*, pp. 41-45. Van Millingen attributes the new walls to an enormous influx of population during the first one hundred years into this attractive political and ecclesiastical capital. The Theodosian land walls were not breached by invaders until 1453; although the city did fall via the Golden Horn to Latin invaders in 1204.

¹² JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 48.

¹³ GUILLAND, *Études de topographie II*, pp. 55-68.

¹⁴ Cf. JACOBY, "La population de Constantinople", pp. 95-98.

¹⁵ SEECK, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 243 (*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*).

¹⁶ JACOBY, "La population de Constantinople", pp. 107-108.

There are good reasons for a lack of a stable population, or even of a stable topography of the city, for between 404 and 960 there were eighteen earthquakes and nineteen major fires in Constantinople.¹⁷ Buildings were, therefore, constantly being rebuilt.

A feature of the city that must be highlighted is that many of its thoroughfares were colonnaded and thus provided public space. The *Notitia Urbis* says that there were fifty-two porticoes in the city.¹⁸ Constantinople was, therefore, a grand city laid out as a capital with much open space and many colonnaded avenues, even though these were narrow by modern standards, as one would expect in a late antique Mediterranean city.

The single greatest amount of space in the city was taken up by the grounds of the imperial palace, a collection of official buildings, halls, residences, churches, and oratories. It is as if the entire Palatine Hill of Rome were called the "imperial palace." This area, however, lies outside the bounds of the present study since it was not the site of public ecclesiastical liturgies and processions.¹⁹

The last of the great non-ecclesiastical monuments of Constantinople to be dealt with here is the Hippodrome. Together with the Great Church and the Forum of Constantine it formed the hub of public life in the city.

The circus parties at Rome had been the origin of the four great urban factions (blues, greens, reds, and whites), and the Hippodrome of Constantinople continued this tradition.²⁰ The Hippodrome was begun by Septimius Severus and completed by Constantine. It had an imperial box (*Kathisma*) which was connected to the palace, although precise location of the *Kathisma* has never been determined.²¹

2. Early Churches

Part of the grandeur of Constantinople was undoubtedly due to its ecclesiastical buildings. These can be divided, for the purposes of studying the stational processions, into pre-Justinianic churches on the one hand and Justinianic and post-Justinianic on the other. The most famous

¹⁷ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 41; cf. GRUMEL, *Chronologie*, pp. 476-480 for a complete list of earthquakes.

¹⁸ SEECK, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 243; cf. CLAUDE, *Byzantinische Stadt*, pp. 60-62.

¹⁹ On the imperial palace cf. MANGO, *Byzantine House*; MIRANDA, *Les palais*; JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 107-122. There were a great number of churches and oratories within the palace complex. The most famous were St. Stephen's of Daphne, the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I, the Savior of the Chalke, and the Theotokos of Pharos, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 473-74, 361-64, 329-30, 232-36. Sts. Sergius and Bacchus has also been considered a palatine church, cf. MATTHEWS, "Architecture et liturgie", pp. 22-29.

²⁰ Cf. CAMERON, *Circus Parties*, 197; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 298-356.

²¹ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 177-188.

ecclesiastical building of Constantinople was the Great Church or Hagia Sophia. This church is not mentioned specifically by the first witness to Constantine's building project, Eusebius, who is selective in his description. He fails to mention that much of the construction work undertaken in the reign of Constantine was not at all Christian in character and that pagan temples remained standing and the city was decorated with innumerable statues looted from all over the empire.²² Even if the Great Church were part of Constantine's plans for the city, it was not dedicated until 360 (15 February), under the emperor Constantius.²³ At first called simply the Great Church, and only later Holy Wisdom or Hagia Sophia, the original church was basilican in form, with a nave and two (or possibly four) side aisles and galleries from which the women participated in worship. It was oriented with its apse to the east and had a separate sacristy (*skeuphylakion*), a baptistery close to the eastern end, and an ambo in the middle of the nave. There was a monumental propylaeum before the western atrium, perhaps not unlike the entrance at Constantine's Golgotha Martyrium. It is likely that there were between three and five doors on the west front of the church. This basilica was much smaller than the later construction on the same spot.²⁴

A good portion of the Great Church was burned during the riots associated with the expulsion of John Chrysostom from the city on 20 June 404, but the church was functioning again by 406 and rededicated on 16 October 415.²⁵

Situated about 110 m. to the north of the Great Church, and considered part of the same complex was the basilica of Hagia Eirene (Holy Peace). It may well have been the site of the pre-Constantinian Christian church of Byzantium, for it was referred to as the Old Church. Socrates says that Constantine enlarged this church and that it was served by the same clergy as the Great Church. It served as the main church of the city while Hagia Sophia was being rebuilt after 404 and may have been the site of the Council of Constantinople in 381.²⁶

Another church in the immediate vicinity of the Great Church was one of the most important shrines of the Virgin Mary in the city. Named after its location in the copperworkers' section, it was referred to as the church of the Theotokos of Chalkoprateia.²⁷ This church dates to the

early fifth century in the reign of Theodosius II and is roughly contemporary with the foundation of the Church of St. John the Baptist of Studios. Chalkoprateia was oriented to the SE, had a western atrium and an octagonal structure, perhaps a baptistery at the NW corner. The width of the three-aisled basilica was only about 31 m. Its main entrances seem to have been those to the east which flanked the apse, since these were the entrances that faced the Great Church area. There are archeological indications of a low chancel barrier that stretched out in the form of a Π in front of the apse, as well as of a crypt. There was a synthronon (benches for the bishop and clergy on raised stairs) in the apse.²⁸

The most problematic of the pre-Justinianic foundations is the Church of the Holy Apostles. Eusebius attributes its foundation to Constantine and relates that it had a dome whose interior was covered with gold and that it was surrounded by porticoes on all sides. He further claims that Constantine had placed under the dome twelve coffins for the apostles with his own in the center, and finally that he dedicated the building to all the apostles.²⁹ Procopius, however, attributes the church to Constantius, who may have completed the construction his father began.³⁰ This attribution is substantiated by other authors, both earlier and later.³¹ In any case, it is in this church that Eusebius describes Constantine's funeral and burial.³² In 356 the relics of Sts. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy were brought to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and Constantine's place of burial may have been transferred to the Church of St. Acacius by the patriarch Macedonius. After 359 Constantius began construction of a separate mausoleum for his father's tomb. Therefore, in the late fourth and fifth centuries Holy Apostles consisted of a basilica with a domed mausoleum probably near its entrance.³³

That Holy Apostles held an important place in the ecclesiastical organization of Constantinople is indicated both by its topographical location and its historical importance. Situated near the Mese after it turned NW towards Blachernae, not a great distance from the Constantinian walls and near the Adrianople Gate, it sat on a slight rise,

²² MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 28-33.

²³ EUSEBIUS, VC IV:58-60.

²⁴ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:4.

²⁵ E.g. SOCRATES, HE I:16 (PG 67:117); THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I:23 CEDREUS, *Chron.*, p. 498.

²⁶ EUSEBIUS, VC IV:70-71. DOWNEY, "The Builder of the Church of the Apostles", pp. 58-59 claims that this passage must be an interpolation in the *Life of Constantine* since it refers to the tomb seen "even now". Eusebius died a few years after Constantine. And so for D. it is beyond question that the church was built by Constantius. For a rebuttal of this view, cf. KRAUTHMEIR, "On Constantine's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople", *Studies*, pp. 27-34.

²⁷ KRAUTHMEIR, *Studies*, pp. 30-32.

²² DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 88-89; PIGNATOL, *L'empire chrétien*, pp. 54-57.

²³ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 543; cf. also SOCRATES, HE II:16 (PG 67:47).

²⁴ For the description of the old Hagia Sophia, see MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 11-18. On the women in the galleries, cf. CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom. in Ps 48:17* (PG 55, 507).

²⁵ Cf. CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 585; JANIN, *Eglises*, p. 457.

²⁶ SOCRATES, HE I:16, II:16; cf. JANIN, *Eglises*, pp. 103-104; VAN MILLINGEN, *Byz. Churches*, pp. 84-88.

²⁷ On Chalkoprateia, cf. JANIN, *Constr. Byz.*, pp. 97-98, 107.

and was clearly distinct from the other monuments of the city.³⁴ It was the scene of Chrysostom's sermon on the anniversary of the death of Theodosius the Great (398).³⁵ Chrysostom's own relics were transferred there on 27 January 438.³⁶

The *Notitia Urbis* indicates that in the mid-fifth century the city of Constantinople had only fourteen churches.³⁷ Most of these seem to have been oriented and possessed many entrances on all sides, with major entrances through western atria. They may have had ambos and soleas on a longitudinal axis between western entrance and apse, as well as chancel barriers that formed a Π in front of the apse or stretched across the apsidal chord itself.³⁸

The pre-Justinian evidence of major churches in Constantinople shows that great effort was made in the late fourth and fifth centuries to "Christianize" the city. This effort seems to have been focused on the downtown public area with three major churches (the Great Church, Hagia Eirene, and Theotokos of Chalkoprateia) all located near the Imperial Palace and Hippodrome.³⁹

Even though Constantine seems to have determined the site of the Great Church in this area, there remains some question as to how explicit his own desire or ability were to make Constantinople a Christian city.⁴⁰

3. Justinianic Churches

In the sixth century under Justinian (527-565) and his successors a Christian topography of Constantinople as it becomes familiar in the Byzantine era begins to form. Some thirty-three churches were built or rebuilt in the city or its suburbs during this century.⁴¹ The most remarkable of these is the complete rebuilding of the Great Church after

³⁴ ALEXANDER, "Studies", pp. 327-328.

³⁵ JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, PG 63:491-494.

³⁶ SOCRATES, HE VII:45 (PG 67:836).

³⁷ SIECK, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 242; JANIN, *Églises*, p. xii, adds five more churches to this number.

³⁸ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 38.

³⁹ DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 397, who warns against closely relating Hippodrome, Milion, Great Church and Palace in the early period; for an opposing view cf. ALEXANDER, "Studies", p. 319.

⁴⁰ Here I agree with DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 397: "C'est la notion même d'un programme de construction des églises, par lequel le fondateur aurait voulu donner à sa capitale un caractère chrétien, qui est suspecte." Dagron's point is that Constantinople was intended to reflect not the glory of Christianity or the old religion of the state but that of Constantine himself. This is Dagron's interpretation of Holy Apostles as well, p. 401. For similar judgment on the Christian character of Constantinople, see KRAUTHMEIER, *Three Christian Capitals*, pp. 120-25.

⁴¹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 7, from a count of PROCOPIUS, *Buildings*, I:9; I:10; I:11; I:12.

the Nika Riots of 15 January 532 in which much of the downtown area including Hagia Eirene, the Augusteon and a good part of the imperial palace were burnt as well.⁴² When he regained control of the city, Justinian had the opportunity to plan and rebuild the monumental area in a manner that was to be decisive for Constantinople's ceremonial life. It is probably at this time that the old episcopal palace or patriarchate was transferred from the NE side of the Great Church (i.e. between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene) to the SW corner of the same church, much closer to the palace. It may be that this is the first time that Augusteon is actually walled-in, fortified and provided with gates.⁴³

The new Great Church took only some five years to build. It was dedicated on 27 December 537 by the patriarch Menas.⁴⁴ The central dome and eastern half dome, weakened by earthquakes in 553 and 557, collapsed crushing the ambo, ciborium, and altar on 7 May 558. The height of the dome was raised in reconstruction and the church was rededicated on 23 December 563.⁴⁵

The Hagia Sophia of Justinian is covered by a great central dome rising some 60 m above the floor of the nave. It has an open nave set off by four piers at each point of the compass, two side aisles and galleries to the west, north and south. A Π -shaped chancel most likely projected from the piers of the eastern apse.⁴⁶ There was a synthronon in the apse with stalls covered with silver. Twelve columns help up the architrave of the chancel barrier and a baldachin covered an altar of gold. A solea (walkway) projected west from the bema (sanctuary) to an ambo situated slightly east of the center of the nave on the longitudinal axis.⁴⁷ The ambo was elliptical in shape and approached by staircases on the east and west. It was surrounded (unlike other known ambos) by eight columns.

A round building that appears to have been the skeuophylakion was located to the NE of the Great Church; it may have been this same round building that served the old Hagia Sophia. There may have been a passage

⁴² PROCOPIUS, *Wars* I:24; THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 184; CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 621.

⁴³ On the patriarchate, cf. JANIN, "Le palais patriarchal", p. 131. On the Augusteon, GUILLAND, *Études de topographie* II, p. 40; MANGO, *Bracen House*, pp. 43-46.

⁴⁴ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:1; THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 217. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 89, incorrectly gives 24 December.

⁴⁵ For a complete summary of this history cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 456-460, also H. KÄHLER, *Hagia Sophia*. The bibliography on the Great Church is extensive. Important works will be found in Kähler's book. The intent here is not so much to discuss the architecture of the church as its liturgical arrangements, to analyze the processional itineraries and enactus rite. For the physical description and interpretation of the building I am indebted to Mr. R. L. VAN NICE of Dumbarton Oaks, whose forty years of studying this building have made him conversant with every detail of the present structure. See VAN NICE, *Saint Sophia; idem, "The Structure of St. Sophia"*, pp. 111-139.

⁴⁶ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 97; XYDIS, "Chancel Barrier", p. 5.

⁴⁷ PAUL THE SILENTIARY, *Descriptio ecclesiarum* v. 50. XYDIS, "Chancel Barrier", p. 14.

from it directly into the Great Church for the procession of the eucharistic gifts, known as the Great Entrance.⁴⁸ There seem to have been two baptisteries associated with this church. The first was located to the NE, while the second or Greater baptistery was located to the SW. Like other contemporary and earlier churches in Constantinople the Great Church had no special prothesis and diakonikon within the church itself.⁴⁹

The north gallery seems to have been reserved for women from the fourth to the ninth century. The empress had her throne there in the eastern section when she attended the liturgy.⁵⁰ These galleries are called *Katechoumena* in the *De ceremoniis* of the tenth century; probably stemming from the period when catechumens were no longer forced to leave the church altogether but allowed to remain in the galleries for the liturgy of the faithful. In any case, were they actually dismissed, it would have been relatively easy to exit from the galleries which had external staircases.⁵¹

More pertinent to our subject are the various entrances and exterior aspects of the church which played a role in liturgical processions. It is necessary from the start to clear up terminological confusions. The Holy Doors (*ἁγία πόλαι*) were those that formed the main (western) entrance to the bema. The Royal Doors (*βασιλικαὶ πόλαι*) formed the three middle entrances to the nave from the narthex. These were sometimes called the Beautiful Doors (*ὡραῖαι πόλαι*).⁵² However, when the Beautiful Door is mentioned (in the singular) it always refers to the door at the southern entrance hallway to the narthex, the door that the emperor often used. Another entrance-way for the emperor is the Holy Well (*ἅγιον φρέαρ*) where the supposed lid of the well of Samaria (Jn. 4) was preserved. This was at the eastern end of the church to the south of the apse, and was reached via a portico from the Chalke Gate of the palace.⁵³ The emperor could also enter the southern gallery of the church directly by way of a raised passageway that communicated between the Magnaura and the church.⁵⁴ On greater occasions the emperor approached the church from the main gate of the Chalke via the Mese through the main gate of the Augusteion and to the Beautiful Door near the Horologion.⁵⁵ On rare

⁴⁸ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 155-162; TAFT, *Great Entrance*, pp. 185-203.

⁴⁹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 105-107, an excellent summary of the eastern part of early oriental churches and the middle Byzantine development of pastophoria.

⁵⁰ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 130. On the complex question of the use of the galleries; cf. TAFT, review of STRUBE, *Westliche Eingangseite*, in OCP 42 (1976), pp. 301-302.

⁵¹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 128. On communication with the galleries; cf. TAFT, review of MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, OCP 40 (1975), p. 302.

⁵² STRUBE, *Westliche Eingangseite*, p. 51.

⁵³ The best discussion of this entrance is in MANGO, *Brzen House*, pp. 60-7. Analogous conclusions are reached by GUILAND, *Études de topographie* 11, pp. 19-23.

⁵⁴ MANGO, *Brzen House*, pp. 87-88.

⁵⁵ MANGO, *Brzen House*, p. 76.

occasions the imperial processions entered through the western portals of the atrium, at the *Athyr*.⁵⁶

The church was surrounded by open courts on all sides, according to Paul the Silentiary.⁵⁷ There were porticoes lining each side of the western atrium, which itself had entrances on the north, south and west. In the midst of the atrium stood a large fountain (*Athyr*). Five doors (three on the West and one each on the North and South) led from the courtyard to the outer narthex. There were possibly two more entrances on the western facade.⁵⁸ The inner narthex was pierced by five doors in the west wall and two other doors on the north and south sides. Nine doors led from the narthex to the nave and aisles, in three groups of three. The middle three were the Royal Doors. Each middle door (of outer narthex, narthex, and nave) is on a longitudinal axis with the head of the apse.

There was ample space within the Great Church for ceremonial and processional movement, even though (except for the nave itself) sight-lines were hindered a good deal. Despite the complexity of the building it is still on the same longitudinal axis that characterizes all of the early Christian basilicas we have seen. In addition, there is certainly an intentional interplay in the varying entrance plans from atrium through narthexes to nave (from five to seven to nine doors).⁵⁹ Great crowds could have entered this church at the same time, even from the same west side.

Once they had entered the church, the laity used the nave, except of course for the ambo and the solea.⁶⁰ Women were to the left (north) and men were to the right (south). The patriarch and clergy used the apse and chancel area in addition to the ambo and solea. At times the patriarch used a throne located directly south of the ambo.⁶¹ The emperor's throne in the church was located in two different places, each called a mitatorion. On certain occasions (Antipascha Sunday, Hypapante, the Feast of Orthodoxy and Exaltation of the Cross) he was situated in the SE section of the gallery. On the other occasions when the emperor was present in the church in state (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, etc.) the mitatorion used was on the level of the nave. Mathews locates the throne just west of the southeast pier, pointing to a number of markings on the floor. Much more likely a placement for the emperor's throne on the floor level (especially

⁵⁶ STRUBE, *Westliche Eingangseite*, p. 55; cf. SCHNEIDER, *Grabung*, pp. 22-28, Table 8.

⁵⁷ PAUL THE SILENTIARY, *Descriptio ecclesiae*, v.610.

⁵⁸ STRUBE, *Westliche Eingangseite*, pp. 29ff. The middle door in the outer narthex measured 5.4 m x 3.2 m.

⁵⁹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 91 comments: "The complicated changing pattern of entrances that confronts the visitor as he progresses from atrium to exonarthex to narthex to church proper is one of the extraordinary subtleties of Hagia Sophia's design."

⁶⁰ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 117-125.

⁶¹ Cf. DARROUZÈS, "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique", p. 48, which also describes a 14th century ritual for the Great Church of Constantinople.

since it is much closer to the door of the Holy Well) in a position just off the SE conch of the nave.⁶² One can also question the permanence of the arrangements for the emperor's throne, since he came in state to the Great Church only fourteen times a year, at least in the tenth century. A better suggestion for the markings on the floor of the nave near the SE pier and the ambo might be related to the patriarch's throne on those occasions when he was enthroned in the nave.

Hagia Sophia gives the impression of a magnificent building the possibility of elaborate services of worship. It certainly was equipped for all kinds of movement with entrances on every side as well as exterior stairwells and interior staircases.

The Justinianic period was a time of the flowering of church architecture in Constantinople.⁶³ Many of the churches that figure significantly in the city's stational liturgy receive their final form at this time. Five of these will be discussed here.

About seven miles (ten km.) from the Milion on the Via Egnatia leading west lies the Hebdomon.⁶⁴ At the time of the Emperor Valens (364) it became a site for the army's proclamation of the new emperor's accession. It was used for this purpose thirteen times in the next six centuries. The Hebdomon contained the Mars Field, two palaces, and two churches: of the Prodromos (John the Baptist) and of John the Theologian (Apostle), as well as a number of minor churches and oratories.⁶⁵ Victorious emperors returning to the city were received by the court at the Hebdomon. It was also used as a place of refuge during earthquakes. The Via Egnatia led from the Hebdomon to the Golden Gate; it was the processional way into the city.

The Church of the Prodromos is a Justinianic foundation. Although the Church of John the Theologian was earlier, the two churches eventually rivalled one another in popularity.⁶⁶ The first use of an earlier church of the Prodromos on the site, probably built under Theodosius, may have been to enshrine the head of the Baptist.⁶⁷ Procopius informs us that it was in ruins by the sixth century and that Justinian had it rebuilt.⁶⁸ It was an octagonal, hence centrally-planned, palatine church, surrounded by a stoa and a courtyard on all sides but the east, and was domed with entrances on all sides. After the ninth century it ceases to be mentioned and to have been superseded by the Church of John the Theologian.⁶⁹

⁶² Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon II: Index, Kathedra*.

⁶³ KRAUTHMEIER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 213.

⁶⁴ Cf. JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 412, the area was originally an army camp.

⁶⁵ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 408-411; VAN MILLINGEN, *Byz. Const.*, pp. 316-341.

⁶⁶ JANIN, *Eglises*, pp. 267-269.

⁶⁷ SOZOMEN, *HE VI:21* (PG 67:1481); *CHRONICON PASCHALE*, p. 564.

⁶⁸ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:8:11.

⁶⁹ MATTHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 55-61.

Like the Hebdomon, the Shrine of Pege was located outside the Theodosian walls, about a kilometer from the Pege Gate. The Theotokos of the Pege had its origins in the late fifth or early sixth century. Procopius attributes the building of the church to Justinian.⁷⁰ It was considered one of the city's most important shrines, dedicated to the Virgin on the site of a miraculous spring of water. The road leading to it from the Theodosian wall was considered a main thoroughfare.⁷¹ The rectangular church was surrounded by porticoes on all sides and in turn enshrined the spring. As will be seen below, it served at one point as the terminus of an important procession.

To the northeast at the corner of the city is the shrine of the Theotokos of Blachernae, one of the city's most important churches. The site was about five km. from the Milion. The walls of the city enclosed this suburb early in the fifth century; the church was first built around the middle of the same century.⁷² Founded under the Empress Pulcheria between 450-453, the Blachernae church was probably finished under Leo I (457-474). In 473 the most famous of the relics of the Virgin, her robe, was brought to the city from Palestine and deposited here.⁷³ Justinian made additions to the church while his uncle Justin I (518-527) was still emperor.⁷⁴ The virgin's robe acted as a palladium of the city when paraded around the walls by the Patriarch Sergius during the Avar siege of 626. It was used for the same purpose time and again throughout the history of Constantinople.⁷⁵

Blachernae consisted of three buildings. The major domed basilica had the Blachernitissa (an ikon) located in a transept. It was unveiled from Friday vespers until vespers on Saturday. The basilica was joined to the Blachernae palace by a portico and staircase, during the reign of Justin II, and the emperor attended the liturgy there from an oratory in the gallery. A round chapel to the right of the church contained the relic of the Theotokos, her robe. It had galleries and an imperial mitatorium. Another building was located to the right of the chapel of the Robe.⁷⁶ In the early seventh century the clergy of Blachernae numbered twelve priests, eighteen deacons, six deaconesses, eight sub-deacons, twenty lectors, four cantors, and six doorkeepers.⁷⁷

Note that all three major shrines were located in areas originally outside the city walls. In addition to the popularity of suburbs in late

⁷⁰ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:3.

⁷¹ JANIN, *Eglises*, p. 224.

⁷² JANIN, *Const. Byz.*

⁷³ JANIN, *Eglises*, p. 161.

⁷⁴ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:3.

⁷⁵ Cf. JANIN, *Eglises*, p. 163 for examples; cf. also BAYNES, "Supernatural Defenders", CAMERON, "The Virgin's Robe."

⁷⁶ JANIN, *Eglises*, pp. 166-168.

⁷⁷ JANIN, *Eglises*, p. 170.

antiquity, on a map they seem to form a ring around the city, indeed a kind of spiritual protection. True, Rome had shrines of this sort in St. Peter's, S. Paolo, S. Lorenzo, and S. Sebastiano, but in Constantinople it was necessary to invent shrines that represented spiritual protection and ringed the city with spiritual power.

Another of Justinian's reconstructions was the old church of Hagia Eirene, destroyed in the Nika Riots. Much smaller than the Great Church (its nave measures ca. 18 x 40 m.) it is the largest formerly Christian structure in Istanbul today apart from the Great Church. Oriented on almost exactly the same axis, it communicated with the Great Church by a series of courtyards.⁷⁸ The Justinianic church was domed and had a western atrium; the galleries were accessible by means of interior staircases. There are five entrances to the west, three of which lead directly into the nave.⁷⁹ Like Hagia Sophia, this church had a synthronon (still in evidence) and a T-shaped chancel.

The last church of this brief survey is Holy Apostles. The fourth-century church was apparently in disrepair by the sixth century when Justinian transformed it into a Greek cross, surmounted by five domes, attached to the imperial mausoleum at the eastern arm of the cross.⁸⁰ The sanctuary was located in the middle of the church under the central dome and railed in on four sides by a chancel barrier. Heisenberg thought that a narthex extended on three sides of the western cross-arm, but this has been proved a misunderstanding.⁸¹ No archeological remains are left of Justinian's Holy Apostles, but many attempts to reconstruction have been made from literary descriptions and fairly frequent appearances in manuscript illuminations. This church served as a seat of the second council of Constantinople (553).⁸² About twenty feasts a year were celebrated there.

Several summary conclusions are in order at this point:

(a) Although in some ways planned as a ceremonial city, Constantinople was not begun as a Christian city. Its christianization began with Theodosius and reached a final architectural flowering in the sixth century under Justinian.⁸³

⁷⁸ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 78.

⁷⁹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 82-83. On the narthex and atrium of S. EUSTACHE, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁰ PROCOPIUS, *Buildings* I:4:9-18 (Downey, pp. 49-51). The standard work on the church is HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche*. The Justinianic church is described by KRAUTHHEIMER, "A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople", *Studies*, pp. 197-201. PROCOPIUS compared Holy Apostles to the contemporary shrine of John the Apostle at Ephesus, *Buildings* V:1-4.

⁸¹ STROBE, *Westliche Eingangsseite*, pp. 138 ff.

⁸² JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 44-46.

⁸³ On East Roman cities in the sixth century, cf. CLAUDE, *Byzantinische Stadt*, pp. 218-224.

(b) With the possible exception of the Holy Apostles complex, there never seemed to be a conscious attempt at imitating Jerusalem in Constantinople, although there were quite a few similarities to Rome.

(c) The churches that have been surveyed above form the backbone of the stational system of Constantinople. They are all pre-eighth century and therefore pre-date the Iconoclast controversy.

B. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES FOR CONSTANTINOPLE'S STATIONAL LITURGY

Unlike Jerusalem and Rome we have no clear development in liturgical books for the stational liturgy of Constantinople: the major liturgical source employed in this study is a tenth century manuscript. Therefore it will be all the more necessary to comb non-liturgical sources for information about the stations.

1. Gregory of Nazianzus

The first evidence available for the use of different churches in Constantinople comes from the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, its bishop from 379-381. In his letters, orations, and autobiographical poem it is clear that his ecclesiastical party, the Nicæans, were far outnumbered in the city at the beginning of his episcopacy. Gregory was able at first to hold services of worship only in a small chapel; he had no access to the Great Church or other major churches of Constantinople. The chapel was called *Anastasia*; after the "resurrection" of the orthodox at Constantinople, not the rotunda in Jerusalem. It was located slightly NE of Constantine's Forum in the portico of Dominus.⁸⁴

From his farewell address at the Council of 381, Gregory's party, it is clear, had regained control of the churches of the city. He bids adieu to the "grand and renowned temple" (i.e. Hagia Sophia), which he refers to as a "Jerusalem" to the Holy Apostles, and to "many others" scattered throughout the city.⁸⁵ Gregory's polemical situation had not encouraged him to put much stock in the splendor of the liturgy. In fact he attacks the celebration of ecclesiastical feasts with much exterior show and scorns the processions of the Greeks.⁸⁶ One would hazard a guess that any liturgical processions in Gregory's episcopate (at least at the beginning of it) were in the hands of the Arians and we know nothing about them.

⁸⁴ Cf. SOCRATES VI:7 (PG 67:575); SOZOMEN VII:5 (PG 67:1425); GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oration* 22:8 (PG 35:1140-1141), *Oration* 25:19 (PG 35:1224-1225); *Oration* 26:17 (PG 35:1249); *De vita sua* vv. 1079-1080 (PG 37:1103). For comment on the religious situation of the period, cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 448. On the chapel of the Anastasia, JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 22-25.

⁸⁵ GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oration* 42:26 (PG 36:489).

⁸⁶ GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oration* 38:5-6 (PG 36:116).

2. John Chrysostom

By the time that Chrysostom assumed the episcopacy of Constantinople (398) matters had changed considerably. The popular Antiochene preacher entered a city where the Nicæans had been in control ever since the accession of Theodosius the Great. As a presbyter he had preached in many churches at Antioch,⁸⁷ and the same was to be true at Constantinople. At this time in Constantinople the eucharist seems to have been celebrated on Saturdays, Sundays and feast days.⁸⁸

Chrysostom probably presided at the eucharist and preached most often at the Great Church. He complains time and again of a lack of attendance there due to the greater popularity of the Hippodrome and the theatre.⁸⁹ But other churches were used as well. On the other hand, Chrysostom celebrated the feast of the Prodomos at the octagonal church in the Hebdomon and the feast of the Ascension outside the city walls, at Elaia, (an olive grove) across the Golden Horn above Galata.⁹⁰ Another of his homilies was delivered at Hagia Eirene, but the occasion is not evident from the text.⁹¹ A sermon was given at Holy Apostles on the anniversary of Theodosius' death, for he was buried there.⁹² Another sermon was preached (on the occasion of a drought) in an unknown martyrion in the Palatia Petra, outside the Adrianople Gate which Chrysostom sarcastically announces, has finally brought out the entire city population.⁹³ Several more homilies are assigned to Gregory's Anastasia.⁹⁴ Chrysostom also preached a sermon to the Goths in the Church of St. Paul the confessor located near the Golden Horn.⁹⁵

In addition to holding services at various churches in the city and its suburbs, Chrysostom also provides evidence for several liturgical processions. Each has to do with the translation of martyrs' relics. The first is the arrival of the relics of the martyr Phocas from Pontus. In a homily delivered the following days Chrysostom describes the procession:

⁸⁷ VAN DE PAVERT, *Messiturgie*, p. 12.

⁸⁸ VAN DE PAVERT, *Messiturgie*, pp. 422 ff.

⁸⁹ JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova on Jn. 3:17* (PG 63:511), also *Hom. Nova 4* (PG 63:477), on the circus, PG 67:526. Chrysostom preached from the ambo of the Great Church.

⁹⁰ SOCRATES VII:18, VII:26.

⁹¹ JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova 5* (PG 63:485).

⁹² JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova 6* (PG 63:491-494). Chrysostom preached third on this day after two other bishops.

⁹³ JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova 7* (PG 63:461). On the Adrianople Gate, cf. JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 263; for the reference to the Palatia Petra in this locale, cf. *Opisanie* 31, p. 1010.

⁹⁴ JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova 4* (PG 63:477-486). Once again the subject of discourse is the paucity of those attending church compared to the circus and theater. The same theme is repeated in PG 63:493 ff.

⁹⁵ JOHN CHRYS., *Hom. Nova 8* (PG 63:499-500). On this chapel and its location near the Golden Horn, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 394-395. This Paul (the Confessor) was Bishop of Constantinople, exiled three times, finally in 351.

Yesterday our city was aglow, radiant and famous, not because it had colonnades, but because a martyr arrived in procession from Pontus... Did you — the procession in the Forum? ... Let no one stay away from this holy assembly; let no virgin stay shut up in her house, no woman keep to her own home. Let us empty the city and go to the grave of the martyr, for even the emperor and his wife go with us... Let us make of the sea a church once again, going forth to it with lamps.⁹⁶

He devotes two more homilies to another procession. This time the procession began at the Great Church and wound its way along the sea to the suburb of Drypia (13.5 km to the west of the city on the Via Egnatia) where the relics were solemnly deposited in the Martyrium of St. Thomas.⁹⁷ The procession took place in the last months of 398. The presence of the empress is indicated, for she herself carries the relics of the unknown martyr. The imperial personages marched in the procession together with the people and without marks of special status.⁹⁸ Chrysostom claims the procession has emptied the city in a torchlight procession stretching along the coast and making it a river of fire.⁹⁹

3. Socrates and Sozomen

The fifth-century church historians of Constantinople, Socrates and Sozomen¹⁰⁰ provide further data on processions in the time of Chrysostom. Both authors speak of nocturnal processions and antiphonal psalmody.¹⁰¹ Socrates attributes the practice of division into bands (antiphony) for processional psalmody to Ignatius of Antioch (early second century). At Constantinople it was the Arians who seem to have

⁹⁶ JOHN CHRYS., *De S. Hieronymi Phoca* (PG 30:699). This sermon was perhaps delivered in the first exile of 403: λαμπρά γέγονεν ἡμῖν χοὺς ἡ πόλις λαμπρά καὶ περιφανὴς οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κίονας εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρα πομπεύοντα ἀπὸ Πόντου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγεγόμενον... Εἶδες αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὁγόμενον;

Μηδεὶς ἀπολιμνέσθω τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης πανηγύρεως; μὴ παρθένος οἶκος μενέτω, μὴ γυνὴ τὴν δικίαν κατεχέτω καὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον τοῦ μάρτυρος μεθορῶμεν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεὺς κοινῇ μετ' ἡμῶν χορεύουσι... Ποιήσωμεν κόλιν τὴν θαλάτταν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ λαμπάδων δξιόντες ἐκείτω...

⁹⁷ On this church and its location, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 251-252; *idem*, *Const. Byz.*, p. 445.

⁹⁸ JOHN CHRYS., PG 63:469: Ἀρχόντες πάλιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ σχήματα καταλιπόντες καὶ τοὺς ἀββάδους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῖς ἰδιόταις ἐσποῦς ἀνέμεξαν.

⁹⁹ JOHN CHRYS., PG 63:470: οὐκ ἂν τις ἀπάρτοι τὴν θαλάτταν ταύτην καὶ ποταπὸν ποτὴς προσκίαν; αὐτὺς αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ ποικίλαι συνεχεῖς μέχρι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τούτου διαπαντός ἐκταθεῖσι.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. CHESNUT, *Histoires*, pp. 147-242.

¹⁰¹ SOCRATES, HE VII:8 (PG 67:688-689); SOZOMEN, HE VIII:8 (PG 67:1536). On the origin of the term antiphon cf. PETIT, "Antiphone" cols. 2461-2488. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 11-20.

adopted the practice first, coming into the city on the nights before their synaxes, which had to be held outside the walls since they were no longer the ecclesiastical party in favor. They came processing through the colonnaded avenues of the city and then went out again in the morning to celebrate the eucharist.

Chrysostom, both authors attest, sought to outdo the Arians by holding rival processions in which the refrains to the psalms would be Nicæan in character. With the financial assistance of the empress, Chrysostom equipped these processions with silver crosses and candles. With these showpieces added, we are informed, the processions of the Nicæans grew more popular and more frequent. Few sources indicate so clearly the propagandistic nature of ecclesiastical processions.

Sozomen comments that the practice continued still in his own time.¹⁰² Thus, by the early fifth century popular liturgical processions on a regular basis were in vogue in Constantinople. Little wonder that Chrysostom had been so expansive in his description of the transfers of relics. They showed that his party was winning. Likewise, Socrates and Sozomen seem never to tire repeating which party held which churches in the city. The evidence argues for a vigorous contest over possession of ecclesiastical property, and thus religious space in Constantinople. As witnessed by the Arian and Nicæan processions, the streets themselves were at stake.¹⁰³

Sozomen is somewhat more helpful on the nature of antiphonal processions. He too attributes their nature of Antioch.¹⁰⁴ The processions using antiphonal psalmody are described during the "Affair of the Statues," when the Antiochenes, inspired by their Bishop Leontius, try to assuage the anger of the Emperor, Theodosius the Great, by public liturgical demonstrations. To do this, says Sozomen, the people were divided into choirs to sing the psalms. Each psalm ended with the *Gloria Patri*.¹⁰⁵

Both Socrates and Sozomen relate other processions in which psalmody was employed. Socrates tells of the triumphant return of the

¹⁰² SOZOMEN, HE VII:8 (PG 67:1536).

¹⁰³ On the possession of the various churches of Constantinople, cf. SOCRATES, HE II:38, II:43, IV:1, V:7, VI:14, VII:18, VIII:21, VIII:23. The latter also comments that Constantine disallowed liturgical synaxes of a private character, HE II:32 (PG 67:1025): *οὐ δὲ τοῦ δημοσίου φρονήματος ἐν μικρῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποιούντο ἐνδον τῆς πόλεως... καὶ τούτων δὲ πάντων νόμον ὁμιλῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν ἀραιεσθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐκτετριπτοὺς ἄνους, καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συσπείσθαι, καὶ μὴτε ἐν δικταῖς ἰδιστῶν, μὴτε δημοσίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζειν.*

¹⁰⁴ SOZOMEN, HE III:20 (PG 67:1101). *ἀλλὰ κατὰ χοροὺς ὡς ἔθος ἐν τῷ ὁμαίνον τὸν θεὸν συνιστάμενοι.* Earlier in the passage Sozomen mentions that this took place at Antioch when Constantius was emperor and Leontius, bishop.

¹⁰⁵ SOZOMEN, HE VII:23.

relics of John Chrysostom to Constantinople, his posthumous return from exile on 27 January 438. The deposition of the relics at the Church of the Apostles took place after a solemn procession with psalmody through the city.¹⁰⁶ Sozomen uses the same terminology to describe the procession of the deposition of the relics of the Forty Soldier-Martyrs of Sebaste during the reign of Theodosius II. The relics are carried in procession to the accompaniment of psalmody to the Church of St. Thyrsus.¹⁰⁷

Both of these fifth-century Byzantine church historians, then, provide invaluable evidence as to the use, the frequency, and the importance of liturgical processions in the city of Constantinople.

4. Theodore Lector

The epitome and fragments of church history of the early sixth-century historian, Theodore Lector, provide additional indications with regard to the use of liturgical processions at Constantinople. There are a number of mentions of public liturgical processions.

One such procession took place in 423 after the death of the Emperor Honorius, when Theodosius II stirred the populace of Constantinople to march in procession from the Hippodrome, where they had been gathered for the races, to the Great Church.¹⁰⁸ Another liturgical procession took place during the reign of the Emperor Marcian (450-457): Here the emperor participated on foot, walking the distance to the Hebdomon from the imperial palace. During the brief reign of the Emperor Basiliscus (475-476) there were continued wranglings over Monophysitism. The Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy, is described as having led a public procession. However, he suffered a fall and was shamed thereafter.¹⁰⁹

The processions of Theodosius II and of the Patriarch of Alexandria are illustrative of what might be called the political or propagandistic use of liturgical processions. As with the nocturnal processions in the ecclesiastical battle between the Arians and the followers of John Chrysostom, liturgical processions can be understood in part as an attempt to manifest which church or ecclesiastical party controls or "owns" the streets of the city. Thus liturgical processions were a highly potent symbolic factor in urban life.

Theodore Lector also makes reference to a liturgical procession held on a regular basis. It was initiated by the Patriarch Timothy (of

¹⁰⁶ SOCRATES, HE VII:45 (PG 67:856).

¹⁰⁷ SOZOMEN, HE IX:2 (PG 67:1601). On the Church of St. Thyrsus, JANIN, *Églises*

¹⁰⁸ THEODORE LECTOR, §320 (p. 94): *προσεφώνησε τὸ δῆμον καὶ λιτανεύων ἐκ τῆς Ἱπποδρόμου πρὸς τὸ δῆμον καὶ εἰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐρχομένων τῶν στασιαστικῶν θεῶν.*

¹⁰⁹ THEODORE LECTOR, §403 (p. 113).

Constantinople) between the years 511 and 518. This procession took place every Friday; its terminus was the Church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia.¹¹⁰

Finally, in another instance that intimates the political importance of liturgical processions, Theodore Lector describes the attempt of the Emperor Anastasius (ca. 496) to control the processions. Anastasius placed the city eparch at the head of all ecclesiastical processions in order to insure control over the seditious crowds. Theodore comments that the practice of civil control of these processions continued into his own day.¹¹¹

In Theodore Lector, then, we find further confirmation of the importance, especially the civil importance, of liturgical processions.

5. *The Chronicon Paschale*

The *Chronicon Paschale*, compiled during the reign of Heraclius, ca. 629, also yields data with regard to the stationary practice of the Constantinopolitan liturgy.¹¹² The chronicler refers to a procession with white candles at the Dedication of Constantinople on 11 May 330. His description does not indicate, however, whether this was a Christian procession.¹¹³

There are several references in the *Chronicon Paschale* to places where the eucharistic liturgy was celebrated. Theodosius II attended the Great Church on the Feast of the Epiphany 444.¹¹⁴ Coronations took place in processional manner, moving from the Hebdomon (where the emperor was proclaimed by the army) through the Golden Gate and the Troadensis Portico, down the Mese to the Church of St. Stephen within the imperial palace, and finally to the coronation itself at the Great Church.¹¹⁵ This church was also the scene of celebration for the feasts of Mid-Pentecost (Wednesday of the fourth week of Easter) and Pentecost Sunday.¹¹⁶

In a number of cases of chronicler relates liturgical processions to natural and civil calamities. The first was the earthquake of 6 November 447. All fled the city supplicating night and day.¹¹⁷ An anniversary service was held each year at the church of the Triconch near the Capitol.¹¹⁸ A similar description is given for the earthquake of 26 January 447. The

¹¹⁰ THEODORE LECTOR, §494 (p. 140).

¹¹¹ THEODORE LECTOR, §468 (p. 134).

¹¹² Cf. HUNGER, *Literatur*, pp. 328-330.

¹¹³ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 529.

¹¹⁴ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 584.

¹¹⁵ CHRONICON PASCHALE, pp. 696, 703, 727.

¹¹⁶ CHRONICON PASCHALE, pp. 715, 727.

¹¹⁷ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 586: ἀλλὰ ἔργον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πάντες λιτανεύοντες ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, γέγονε θὰρ ἀπειλὴ μεγάλη.

¹¹⁸ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 401. This church is Peter and Paul at the Triconch.

emperor participated barefoot in the procession. An anniversary celebration was held each year at the Hebdomon.¹¹⁹

Similar supplications are described for another time of trial, the hail of cinders from an eruption of Vesuvius, on 11 November 469.¹²⁰ Finally another earthquake struck in November 533. This time all fled in the middle of the night to the Forum of Constantine where they remained chanting the Trisagion and pleading with God.¹²¹ The *Paschal Chronicle* shows that certainly by the early seventh century commemorating the salvation of the city and liturgical processions went hand in hand.

6. *Theophanes Confessor*

Our next source is the Byzantine chronicler, Theophanes Confessor (752-818) who provides important data on the stations and processions of Constantinople.¹²² He reports the reaction of the populace to the earthquake of 25 September 437; they fled the city to the Hebdomon with the Patriarch Proclus. They there continually besought God with prayers and supplications, insistently crying out "Lord have mercy." A young boy appeared to the bishop and the crowd instructing them to cry out using the words of the Trisagion. They complied, and the earthquake stopped. Theophanes relates this episode to provide the origins of the Trisagion, which was sung in church thereafter every day.¹²³

This chronicler records eight more earthquakes up until the end of the chronicle in 812.¹²⁴ He also mentions the public processions during the hail of cinders of 469, and during the drought of August 562.¹²⁵ During

¹¹⁹ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 589. For similar Egyptian practice of earthquake processions during Justinian's reign, cf. R. H. CHARLES, ed., *The Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, London, 1916, p. 143. This is a late seventh century chronicle.

¹²⁰ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 598.

¹²¹ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 629. Though somewhat long, the passage is worth reproducing here: ... γέγονε σεισμός μέγας ἀβλαβής ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐσπέρας βαθείας ὥστε πάντες τὴν πόλιν συναχθῆναι εἰς τὸν φόρον Κωνσταντίνου καὶ λιτανεῦσαι καὶ λέγειν Ὁ ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὁ ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ὁ ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ σταυρωθείς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐμείναν πάντες τὴν νύκτα ἀγρυπνοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι, πρώτως δὲ γεγομένης, ὁ πᾶς δῆμος τῶν λιτανεύοντων ἐξεβόησεν, Νικᾷ ἡ εἴχη τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁ σταυρωθείς σώσον ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀδύναστε Ἰουστινιανὸς τοῦ Βεγκας ἄρην, καύσον τον τόμον ἐκτεθέντ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς συνόδου Χαλκηδόνος.

¹²² HUNGER, *Literatur*, pp. 334-339.

¹²³ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 93. The passage reads: ... καὶ ἦσαν διημερεύοντες σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν δεήσεσι καὶ λιτανεύοντες ... καὶ πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ κράζοντες ὁ κύριε ἐλέησον ἐκτενῶς ... περὶ ὧν τρίτην ἡμέραν πάντων ὁρῶντων συνέβη ὑπο θαλάσσης δυναμὸς ἀρθῆναι τινα νεανίσκον εἰς τὸν ὕδρα καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θαλάσσης φωνῆς παρεγγύστης, αὐτὸν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ λαῷ λιτανεῦσαι οὕτως καὶ λέγειν ὁ θεός ὁ ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ὁ ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

¹²⁴ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, I, pp. 125-126 (25 Sept. 477), p. 222 (August 534); p. 226 (February 540); p. 229 (15 August 554); p. 231 (18 Oct., 14 Dec. 557); p. 412 (26 Oct. 740); p. 464 (9 Feb. 790); p. 470 (4 May 796).

¹²⁵ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, pp. 119, 237.

the drought of 562, the Patriarch Eutychius led processions (αὐτός) to "Jerusalem", the Church of St. Diomedes just outside the Golden Gate.¹²⁶ Another procession that figures in the account of Theophanes is the memorial on 6 November 513, in which the Patriarch Timothy was attacked on the way from St. Theodore in Sphorakiou to Sts. Peter and Paul at the Triconch.¹²⁷ Theophanes also describes a forty-day earthquake of 554, which had a memorial each year at the Hebdomon.¹²⁸

In his descriptions of natural disaster Theophanes almost always¹²⁹ mentions that these were accompanied by public supplications.

There are other processions mentioned in the chronography of Theophanes. As in Theodore Lector, the pious Emperor Marcian participated on foot in procession to the Hebdomon, inspiring the patriarch to rid himself of his sedan chair and do likewise.¹³⁰ In 541 there was a procession with the relics of the Great Church to the dedication of Hagia Eirene in Sykai (Galata) across the Golden Horn.¹³¹

The dedication and rededication of Justinian's Hagia Sophia are also described in Theophanes. The first, on 23 December 537 involved a procession which began at St. Anastasia with the patriarch in a chariot and the emperor supplicating along with the people. The second dedication began after Pannychis (the all-night vigil) at the Church of St. Plato.¹³² The emperor and patriarch share the chariot in this procession, with the latter holding the book of the Gospels. It proceeds to the Great Church with the people singing "lift up your gates."¹³³

Finally, Theophanes mentions that the emperor Maurice ordered an annual procession to Blachernae, called the Panegyric because it sang the praises of the Theotokos, after his defeat of Chosroes I of Persia in 588.¹³⁴

¹²⁶ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 237. On the church near a sanctuary of the Theotokos, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 95, 97, 185-186. This church was also used by the emperor for litanies during the plague of locusts of 619; cf. CAMERON, "The Virgin's Robe", p. 49.

¹²⁷ On St. Theodore in Sphorakiou (early 5th century foundation), cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 152-153.

¹²⁸ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 229: καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατεννήσαν λιτανεύοντες καὶ προσδεδεικνύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας μένοντες, καὶ πόλιν φιλανθρωπίας Θεοῦ γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον γέγοναι· γίνεται δὲ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ σεισμοῦ τούτου κατ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ Κοιτῇ λιτανεύοντες τοῦ λαοῦ.

¹²⁹ Earthquakes not so denoted are THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, pp. 222, 412, 470.

¹³⁰ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 109.

¹³¹ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 228.

¹³² For the site of St. Plato, JANIN, *Églises*, p. 403.

¹³³ Psalm 24, cf. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, p. 238. Theophanes gives 20 Dec., the wrong date. He says the people are ψαλλόντων τὸ Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν.

¹³⁴ THEOPHANES, *Chronographia* I, pp. 265-266: τὸ δὲ οὗτως ἔστι κατέδειξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Μαυρίκος γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου τὴν ἐν Βλαχέρναις καὶ ἐγκώμια λέγειν τῆς δεσποίνης ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Ἰανήγυριν. JANIN, "Les processions religieuses" claims that this is the regulation of a Friday procession begun by the Patriarch Timothy (511-518). However, the former procession was ■ Chalkoprateia and not Blachernae, cf.

This chronicler, then, is another witness to the joining of public civil events with liturgical processions.

7. Photius

A ninth-century source, the collection of homilies of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople (858-867, 877-886), provides further evidence of episcopal services held in various churches.¹³⁵ All of these homilies were delivered on special days. A number of them are assigned to the ambo of the Great Church, namely XIII, XVI during the pre-Lenten Cheese-fare Week on Wednesday and Friday, XV, XVI against the Arians, XVII on the dedication of an icon of the Theotokos on Holy Saturday, 29 March 867 and XI, XII also delivered on Holy Saturday and Homily VII delivered on Annunciation Day 863.¹³⁶ Three homilies are assigned to Hagia Eirene. These are I marking the beginning of Lent and II and VI after the final Lenten catechesis on Good Friday.¹³⁷ Another assignable homily is X, given at the rededication of the palatine church of the Theotokos of Pharos on 12 April 864.¹³⁸

Two other homilies in the collection give a vivid account of the liturgical reaction to civil disaster. Dealing with the Russian siege of 860, they were preached a few weeks apart. In the first Photius claims that it is only when in danger that the citizenry attends vigils and runs to litanies.¹³⁹ In the second sermon he mentions that the people had held all-night vigils, invoking God in litanies and hymns. Apparently the city has been saved by a procession of the Virgin's Robe (of Blachernae) around the city walls, just as in the Avar siege of 626.¹⁴⁰

THEODORE LECTOR, §494 (p. 140). The shrine at Blachernae was becoming more and more popular toward the end of the sixth century, cf. CAMERON, "Cult of the Theotokos", pp. 87, 101 ff.

¹³⁵ MANGO, *Homilies*, p. 3, dates this collection from the first period of Photius' patriarchate (858-867).

¹³⁶ MANGO, *Homilies*, XIII (p. 223), XIV (p. 230), XV (p. 244), XVI (p. 260), XVII (p. 286), XVIII (p. 306), VII (p. 139).

¹³⁷ MANGO, *Homilies*, I (p. 55), VI (p. 124).

¹³⁸ MANGO, *Homilies*, V (p. 184). ■ argues from the dating and the references to both Emperor Michael III and the Caesar Bardas that this could not have been the dedication of the Nea Ekklesia, which took place on 1 May 880 under Basil I. On the church of the Theotokos of Pharos, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 232-236. The famous image of Christ, the Mandylion of Edessa, was enshrined in this church.

¹³⁹ MANGO, *Homilies*, III (p. 86).

¹⁴⁰ MANGO, *Homilies*, IV (p. 102): "When moreover the whole city was carrying with ■ her raiment for the repulse of the besiegers and protection of the besieged we offered freely our prayers and performed the litany, thereupon with ineffable compassion she spoke out in motherly intercession... Truly is the most holy garment the raiment of God's Mother. It embraced the walls, and the foes inexplicably showed their backs: the city put it around itself, and the camp of the enemy was broken up as at a signal; the city bedecked itself with it..."

Clearly liturgical supplications and procession were the usual response to unusual danger in the liturgy of Constantinople, even well into the ninth century. Photius mentions no specific church or place for such ceremonies, but it must have been rather public, since it is unlikely that the people could have easily been informed of where an emergency service of worship would take place. Note Photius' claim that the whole city population accompanied him around the city walls with the palladium, the Robe of Blachernae.

8. *The Typikon of the Great Church* (HS 40)

At this point we can put into context the data provided by the *Typikon of the Great Church*.¹⁴¹ A *typikon* is a book containing liturgical directions for each feast and fast of the year. It also indicates the proper readings and chants and the place(s) of celebration for the eucharist and other liturgical services. Our *typikon* also provides brief saints' lives.¹⁴² The major interest here, however, will be in the directions that the *Typikon* gives for ecclesiastical processions.

There are two rather complete recensions of the *Typikon of Hagia Sophia*, or the cathedral practice of Constantinople. These are Ms. Hagios Stauros 40 (HS 40)¹⁴³ and Ms. Patmos 266.¹⁴⁴ The latter has been dated in the early to mid-ninth century chiefly for its lack of mention of the Feast of Orthodoxy (which may have been instituted by the iconodule council of 843) as well as lack of any Palestinian liturgical influence.¹⁴⁵ The question of the Feast of Orthodoxy is a complex one since a number of assuredly tenth-century sources (including HS 40) lack it. Moreover, Palestinian usage influenced monastic liturgical practice and not cathedral practice in Constantinople after the final defeat of Iconoclasm.¹⁴⁶ In addition, since a number of processions are lacking in Patmos 266, it seems that it may well have been produced in Palestine, or at least copied there with a basis in the use of Constantinople.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ On the nature of *typika* and their development in three stages (Jerusalem, Constantinople; Russia) cf. ARRANZ, "Les grandes étapes", pp. 43-72. Arranz calls a *typikon*, "livre liturgique ou plutôt le livre de rubriques et de casuistique liturgique" (pp. 43-44).

¹⁴² ARRANZ, "Les grandes étapes", p. 63: "Le *typikon* complet comprendra donc: le kanonikon ou liste de péripopes bibliques, le synaxarion ou calendrier des douze mois, les rubriques de cérémonies ou offices spéciaux (et cela de deux manières: soit par une série de chapitres 'en résumé' en appendice au début ou à la fin du livre, soit par des notes journalières antérieures au kanonikon ou au synaxarion)."

¹⁴³ MATEOS, *Typikon*; DMITRIEVSKII, published only part of this ms. in *Opisanie* III, pp. 766-768, namely notices for 1-2 September.

¹⁴⁴ *Opisanie* I, I-152.

¹⁴⁵ BAUMSTARK, "Patmos-Handschrift", pp. 98-111.

¹⁴⁶ MATEOS, *Typikon* I, p. x, xii-xiv.

¹⁴⁷ MATEOS, *Typikon* I, pp. xvii-xviii.

Hagios Stauros 40, on the other hand, is a much more complete reliable witness of the practice of the Great Church. Mateos dates it to the mid-tenth century, between 950 and 959, before the accession of Basil II (963) and after the translation of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus.¹⁴⁸ Further study has shown that this date is somewhat early. The style of the manuscript has been dated by Mateos and three other commentators to the tenth or eleventh century; it has also been considered an original (or primary) manuscript.¹⁴⁹ Grumel, however, has argued that it is not an original, but rather an edited copy of the later tenth century (ca. 992) on the basis of the political/ecclesiastical situation that made the commemoration of certain patriarchs (namely, Photius, Nicholas, Stephen and Trypho) more probable at this time.¹⁵⁰ We shall accept HS 40 as a late-tenth century copy of a mid-tenth-century source.¹⁵¹

The *Typikon* represented by HS 40 is divided into two parts. The first follows the calendar year day by day ("the cycle of twelve months" = sanctoral) and the second is based on Easter reckoning ("the cycle of mobile feasts" = temporal). In the sanctoral cycle a special synaxis (place of celebration = *statio*) is given for each day. Since most of these synaxes were probably not attended by the patriarch, they will not be considered here, for the presence of the bishop or his representative is integral to our definition of stational liturgy. What will be the special object of investigation here are the processions which form the bulk of Constantinopolitan stational liturgy. We shall first survey the temporal cycle in which fewer popular processions occur.

In the cycle of moveable feasts by far the greater number of eucharistic celebrations take place in the Great Church. It will be assumed that when there is no specific mention made of another site, the celebration was at the Great Church. There are, however, a number of additional stational indications.

In an arrangement that differs considerably from that of Rome the majority of Lenten stations are not stational in Constantinople by the

¹⁴⁸ MATEOS, *Typikon* I, pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁴⁹ PAPAIOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitikē Bibliotēkē* III, pp. 89-90; *Opisanie* II, p. 766; DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, xi.

¹⁵⁰ V. GRUMEL, "Le *Typikon* de la Grande Église d'après le manuscrit de sainte-croix: datation et origine", *AN* 85 (1967), pp. 45-57. I am indebted to R. TAIT for pointing out this article to me.

¹⁵¹ In his edition MATEOS omits the brief saints' biographies; since his interest is purely liturgical. To paraphrase his description of the manuscript: (p. iv) Codex 40 of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, a parchment in folio with 246 leaves. A minuscule of the tenth-eleventh century. Initial folio with the title is missing. In current state the ms. begins 1 September Notices for 13-14, 29-31 August are missing. (The lacunae are filled with Ms. Patmos 266, Paris BN grec 1590, Oxford Bodleian Codex Auct. E 5 10, Paris BN grec 1587.) At the end of the manuscript, there is a letter of presentation to the emperor.

tenth century.¹⁵² The Saturday after mid-Lent; i.e., the fifth week of seven, is dedicated to the Theotokos. The patriarch celebrates paramone and pannychis¹⁵³ at Blachernae of Friday night, and orthros in the Chapel of the Robe on Saturday morning. The proper troparion connects the Virgin to her city.¹⁵⁴ The three antiphons are sung at the divine liturgy which follows orthros in the Great Church, but the patriarch remains at Blachernae for the eucharist. This mid-Lent celebration is also a commemoration of the deliverance of the city from the Persians and the barbarians.

The synaxis for Palm Sunday is at the Great Church. But, at dawn, after orthros, the people assemble at the Church of the Forty Soldier Martyrs at the Bronze Tetrastyle N. of the Forum Tauri near the Philadelphion.¹⁵⁵ The palms are distributed and the prayer of the Trisagion is said; the troparion is intoned at the ambo and the procession goes to the Forum of Constantine, and finally to the Great Church where the three antiphons are omitted and the Trisagion is sung at the entrance. The divine liturgy follows.

Here the Typikon mentions a prior usage of Constantinople, still followed by some who go to the Church of St. Trypho in Chamaoudas¹⁵⁶ and process from there to the Church of St. Romanus, probably near the Topkapi Gate (= Gate of St. Romanus).

¹⁵² There are cases in which a different synaxis is mentioned, since Constantinople has the practice of attracting certain commemorations to Sundays. During Lent these are:

Sat. Cheese-fare Sun.	— Holy ascetics, bps., MM.	— GC
Cheese-fare Sun.	— Abp. Flavian, Leo of Rome, Marcian and Pulcheria	Holy Apostles
Sat. Lent 1	— St. Theodore, M.	— St. Theodore in Sphoraktiou
Sun. Lent 1	— Prophets Moses, Aaron, Samuel	— GC
Sun. Lent 2	— Polycarp of Smyrna	— GC
Sun. Lent 4	— Domitius	— Qtr. of Justinian (Galata)
Sun. Lent 5	— Zenobius	— "

cf. MATEOS, *Typikon* II, pp. 9-55.

¹⁵³ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 311.

¹⁵⁴ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 54. I translate this troparion as follows: "The city of the Theotokos consecrates itself as an offering to the Theotokos, because she is and remains in it. Through her the city is protected and powerful. The city cries to her: 'Hail O hope of all the ends of the earth'".

¹⁵⁵ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 66; cf. JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 307-308; *idem*, *Églises*, p. 485.

¹⁵⁶ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 66; cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 490; for the Church of St. Romanus, pp. 443-449.

On Good Friday, as in the Homilies of Photius, the (last) catechesis of Lent is delivered at Hagia Eirene.¹⁵⁷ During Easter Week (= the Week of Renewal) the services are stational from Monday through Saturday.¹⁵⁸

Day	Commemoration	Station
Monday	Apostles	Holy Apostles
Tuesday	Theotokos	Blachernae
Wednesday	Theotokos	Chalkoprateia
Thursday	John and James	John the Apostle, Dription
Friday		St. Peter's near GC
		St. Paul's Orphanage ¹⁵⁹
Saturday	Prodromos	St. John Baptist in Sphoraktiou

The patriarch celebrates at the Great Church on Thursday and Friday and not at the special stations. For Wednesday and Saturday the Typikon mentions merely that the patriarch goes to the stational churches for the celebration of the divine liturgy. On Monday and Tuesday, however, formal processions are involved. On Tuesday the procession goes straight from the Great Church to Blachernae, but the procession is more involved on Monday.

After orthros, on Monday three antiphons are sung from the ambo of the Great Church. Near the end of this office the patriarch descends from the patriarchate and enters the sanctuary through a lateral doorway. The archdeacon intones the litany and then the processional troparion is intoned. The procession has an intermediate station at the Forum of Constantine where the *Gloria Patri* is intoned to end the psalmody, the deacon chants the insistent litany, the patriarch says a prayer and the procession goes to Holy Apostles where the *Gloria Patri* is intoned again, followed by the three antiphons and the divine liturgy.¹⁶⁰

On Tuesday of the second week of Easter there is another commemoration of the Theotokos. The patriarch goes to Chalkoprateia where another eucharist is celebrated at the Great Church.¹⁶¹ The following Saturday's synaxis is again at Chalkoprateia, but this time to commemorate James, brother of The Lord.¹⁶² The patriarch's

¹⁵⁷ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 79 notes that GOAR, *Euchologion*, pp. 279-281 gives the catecheses there from ms. Barberini Gk. 336. Mateos thinks that the text (8th-9th century) indicates the GC as the place of this catechesis. In my opinion, however, this designation does not necessarily rule out Hagia Eirene, which after all was considered part of the Great Church complex.

¹⁵⁸ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, pp. 96-106.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 398-399 both chapels.

¹⁶⁰ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, pp. 86-98.

¹⁶¹ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, pp. 108-110.

¹⁶² MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 113 notes that this was probably in the Chapel of St. James at Chalkoprateia. cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 253-254.

participation is not indicated. Both mid-Pentecost (Wednesday of the fourth week of Easter) and Ascension day are celebrated in the Great Church, as is Pentecost Sunday.

On the Monday after Pentecost the synax is at Holy Apostles after a procession from the Great Church to the Forum as on Easter Monday. At the Forum station the prayers are said. On the same day there is another procession whose rationale is given as an earthquake commemoration.¹⁶³ This procession, too, starts at the Great Church and has the station at the Forum, but the terminus is Blachernae. The question arises: how can there be two major processions in one day both of which go to the Forum? The patriarch's participation is indicated for only the second procession. The first procession begins at dawn; the indication for the second is at the end of orthros, i.e. at the same time, since orthros was to end at dawn.¹⁶⁴ It seems that two processions following the same route (at least part of the way) and starting at the same time are not possible. Perhaps the copyist made an error and assumed that Pentecost Monday had the same order as Easter Monday, for on the basis of Patmos 266 one can assume that the latter procession was the earlier and unique to the day.

On Wednesday of the same week there is a commemoration of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel at their church in the grounds of the imperial palace.¹⁶⁵ The Saturday after Pentecost has an indication of synax of the Theotokos and Sts. Joachim and Anna at Chalkoprateia.¹⁶⁶ The next day, Sunday, is the Feast of All Saints in the Byzantine calendar; it was celebrated in Constantinople at the Church of All Saints, just to the east of Holy Apostles.¹⁶⁷ There is a procession to this station from the Great Church. On Tuesday of the following week there is a synax of the Theotokos at an unknown sanctuary in the Palatia Petra.¹⁶⁸ The procession to this extramural shrine begins at the ninth hour of the night and includes an intermediate station at the Forum.

Thus there are seven stations indicated in HS 40 during the temporal cycle. Only one occurs during Lent (Palm Sunday); another is associated with an earthquake commemoration.

¹⁶³ This commemoration matches none of the known earthquake dates for Constantinople between the fourth and tenth centuries; cf. GRUMEL, *Chronologie*, pp. 477-480.

¹⁶⁴ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 140. Patmos 266 mentions only the earthquake memorial and procession to Blachernae on this day, cf. *Opisanie* I, pp. 149-151.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 344. Although this may have been the chapel in the Nea of Basil I, p. 354, but still within the imperial palace grounds.

¹⁶⁶ JANIN, *Typicon* II, p. 142. On the Bronze Tetrastylion, cf. JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 377, MILLER-WIESEN, *Bildlexikon*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁷ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 389-390; DOWNEY, 'The Church of All Saints near the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople', *DOP* 9-10 (1956), pp. 301-395.

¹⁶⁸ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 146.

As far as special feasts which do not include processions are concerned, one should note that baptismal days in the typikon are always celebrated at the Great Church, either in the small or greater baptistery.¹⁶⁹ In this Constantinople is in line with Jerusalem and Rome, which also celebrate baptismal days at the episcopal church. One final observation on the temporal cycle with regard to the order followed at the eucharist on Holy Thursday. After paramone and a ceremony of the washing of the feet in the narthex, the patriarch says the prayer of entrance¹⁷⁰ and processes directly to his throne in the apse. There are no antiphons, Trisagion, nor prokeimenon. No incense or candles are carried. The liturgy begins with the first (of three) Old Testament lessons.¹⁷¹ This was the order of the original entrance rite of the eucharist at Constantinople, not because the day is somber, but because more solemn liturgical days tend to conserve more primitive forms.¹⁷²

The sanctoral cycle of the typikon contains far more stational indications. As we stated above it is unlikely that every day was stational in the sense that it was marked by participation of the patriarch or his representative. Our interest in this part of the typikon is limited to those days on which the patriarch's participation is signalled or on which there are liturgical processions.

Most of the mysteries of Christ are celebrated by the patriarch at Hagia Sophia. They do not involve popular processions, although it will be noted below with regard to the *De ceremoniis* they may include imperial corteges from the palace to the Great Church. The major feasts of Christ celebrated at Hagia Sophia are:

Christmas	25 December
Circumcision	1 January
Epiphany	6 January
Transfiguration	11 August
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	14 September ¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ In the temporal cycle of HS 40 one such baptismal day is Lazarus Saturday (MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 63) which is attributed to an overflow of candidates for the next Saturday's Great Vigil. But for the possibility that Lazarus Saturday was originally a baptismal day ending an Epiphany Lent, at least at Alexandria, cf. T. J. TALLEY, 'A Christian Heortology', pp. 18-20. Another baptismal day is, of course, Holy Saturday. There are baptisms in the morning at the smaller baptistery and at the evening vigil in the great baptistery (MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 84-86). On the relationship between baptism, the vigil and Easter at Constantinople, cf. BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 109-151, (specifically pp. 132-133 for the different baptisteries). The last baptismal day in the temporal cycle of the Typikon is Pentecost Sunday (II, pp. 136-138); between orthros and the divine liturgy.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, p. 312.

¹⁷¹ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 74.

¹⁷² Cf. VAN DE PAYERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 426; as we have already noted above.

¹⁷³ MATEOS, *Typicon* I, Holy Cross, p. 28, Christmas, pp. 148, 154 Circumcision, p. 170, Epiphany, p. 184, Transfiguration, p. 360.

In addition to these feasts there are a number of days in the sanctoral cycle on which there are popular processions.¹⁷⁴

The structure of the various liturgies represented by these stational services will be discussed in the next chapter. Some comments are in order, however, with regard to the processions as a whole. In the first place one cannot help but be struck by the number of processions — sixty-eight in all. This means that there was a public procession about every five days on the average in Constantinople, at least in the tenth century. There is no regular time pattern between each procession: for example, twice in the year there are five processions in the space of two weeks (Sept. 24-Oct. 7, June 24-July 8).

As we have already seen, the presence of the bishop is vital to the stational liturgy of Jerusalem and Rome. HS 40 indicates that the patriarch was involved in about half the processions (thirty-two).¹⁷⁵ Of the seventeen processions related specifically to civic needs (earthquakes, sieges, etc.) there are only two (9 January and 17 March) in which the bishop's participation is not indicated. The emperor and his court are mentioned only twice in HS 40, but this is not surprising in an ecclesiastical book not directly concerned with imperial ceremonial.

On fourteen occasions the stational eucharist at the terminus of the processional route is located in a church outside the city walls. Thus, the procession was five km. on 1 July to the quarter of Paulinus, four km. when it went to Blachernae, and ten km. when the terminus was the Hebdomon.¹⁷⁶ Twice (significantly during the summer, 2 and 9 July) the procession is at a shrine outside the walls, but the beginning of the procession is not at the Great Church but rather near the shrine.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Appendix 88. Descriptions of many of these processions can be found in JANIN, "Les processions religieuses", pp. 73-88.

¹⁷⁵ Here I must call attention to the remarkably useful indices in volume II of MATEOS' edition of the Typikon. Despite their usefulness, however, they cannot be used uncritically. Mateos counts twenty-six processions involving the patriarch; I count thirty-two. He omits 29/31 August which I have added as hypothetical, because of the lacuna in the ms. Also omitted is 8 September, where the text (I, p. 20) makes it clear that the patriarch was involved. On 27 January, it is true that the patriarch is not mentioned specifically, but since the order is that of 13 November, it stands to reason that the patriarch was in the procession. In the remaining two cases (26 January/2 February), I am presuming that when the Typikon signals that the patriarch descends through the lateral door of the sanctuary for the beginning of the processional troparion, this means that he is to be involved in the procession itself.

JANIN, "Les processions religieuses", p. 71 is clearly off the mark when he states that the patriarch participated in only a dozen of these processions. Various factors in the analysis of the processions in the Typikon of the Great Church can be found in appendix 89.

¹⁷⁶ Note that I assume here that Blachernae is not technically part of the city. This suburb was surrounded with walls (something like the case of the ninth-century Leonine Walls at Rome) around the time of the construction of the Theodosian Walls, cf. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon*.

For about half of the processions, one of the major churches of the city is the station. Thus, there are thirty-two stations at the Great Church, Holy Apostles, Blachernae and Chalkoprateia combined. Each station is related either to the historical event which inspired a procession or to the occurrence of a saint's memorial. Eleven of the processions have to do with either a feast of the Theotokos or the dedication of a church in her honor. Devotion to the Virgin Mary as the protectress of the city was intimately tied to Constantinopolitan processional practice.

One of the most outstanding features of the stational organization of Constantinople is the role played by the Forum of Constantine, the major urban plaza. Forty-six of the sixty-eight processions involve a station in the Forum. At times this means even a detour, e.g. when the stational eucharist is at the Great Church (23 December, 17 March and 11 May) or at Chalkoprateia (1 September, 8 September, 25 March). The Forum, then, is as central to the stational practice of Constantinople as is Hagia Sophia itself.

Another unique feature of this pattern of stational worship is the role played by historical commemorations. There are seventeen processions that deal with specific historical events other than translation of relics and church dedications. Nine of these memorialize earthquakes; five deal with enemy sieges; and there are commemorations of the hail of cinders from the eruption of Vesuvius (6 November 469), the Great Fire (1 September 461), and *Dies Natalis* of the city (11 May 330). All of these factors set the Constantinopolitan stational liturgy of the tenth century off from the practice of both Rome and Jerusalem.

9. *The De Ceremoniis of Constantine Porphyrogenitus*

The next source of information for the stational worship of Constantinople is a book of imperial ceremonial, the *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae* of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959).¹⁷⁷ Constantine compiled and edited this work from previous and contemporary sources, probably in the latter part of his reign (945-959). He described the various ceremonies, both ecclesiastical and secular (if any of the emperor's activities can be regarded as truly secular).¹⁷⁸ Of interest

¹⁷⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the (technically) bastard son of Leo VI's fourth wife, reigned alone from 913-920, with Romanus Lecapenus as the senior emperor from 920-944, and again alone or as senior emperor from 944-959, cf. GRAUDET, *Chronologie*, p. 358. For a sketch of the life of Constantine VII, cf. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 1-14.

¹⁷⁸ The collection is found in an *unicum*, parchment ms. of eleventh-twelfth century in the University Library at Leipzig. It is divided into two books, and was first edited by J. J. RESKE, (1751-1754) and included in the Bonn CHSB, 1829-1830. Cf. BURK, "Ceremonial Book", p. 209. The subsequent edition of Book I with translation and commentary of VOGT, *Les cérémonies*, will, for the most part, be used here. (Vogt's enumeration of the chapters, followed by the Bonn edition's numbers in parentheses.)

here is the first part of Book I, which contains the rubrics of imperial involvement in the liturgy. The feasts in which the emperor participates are arranged in two series: from Christmas to Pentecost (ch. 1-9) and (overlapping) from Easter Monday through the Feast of Church Union (ch. 10-46).

According to Bury, none of this material postdates Constantine VII. Some of it does come from earlier periods, e.g. chapters 19-21 which come from the reign of Michael III (847-862). There also seems to be a (lost) ceremonial book of the eighth century Isaurian dynasty involved in the compilation.¹⁷⁹ Except in a few instances, the ceremonies described are not easily assigned dates of origin, but the state of the material contained in the *De Ceremoniis* is roughly contemporaneous with the liturgy described by the Typikon of the Great Church (HS 40).

The palatine liturgy is of no direct interest in this study. The patriarch is named as the officiant of only three of these palatine liturgies. The emperor, however, does attend the Great Church on a number of major feasts:

Chapter	Date/Reason
1	Easter Sunday
(16)	August 8/Transfiguration
9	Pentecost
25(16)	Sunday after Easter
31(22)	14 Sept./Exaltation of Holy Cross
32(23)	25 Dec./Christmas
35(26)	6 January/Epiphany
37(28)	1st Sun. of Lent/Feast of Orthodoxy
38(29)	3rd Sun. of Lent/Feast of Holy Cross

These are major feasts of the church year in Constantinople when the liturgy is at Hagia Sophia and no ecclesiastical procession is involved. The one feast here, which is lacking in the Typikon of the Great Church is the Feast of Orthodoxy, celebrating the restoration of images at the Council of 19 February 843.¹⁸⁰ The difficulty may simply be one of nomenclature, since the first Sunday of Lent would have been celebrated in the Great Church in any case.

¹⁷⁹ BURY, "Ceremonial Book", pp. 417, 427, 436. Bury divides Constantine's sources into four classes: a sixth century source containing no material directly relevant to this study, a ceremonial book of the Isaurian Period (716-802), much of it re-worked because of the iconoclasm of the times, ceremonies from the reign of Michael III and finally *acta* of the demes (urban factions) compiled during Constantine's reign.

¹⁸⁰ On this feast cf. NULLES, *Kalendarium* II, pp. 101-108; on its mention and lack of mention in the ninth and tenth centuries, cf. MARCOS, *Typikon* I, pp. xii-xiv.

Seventeen more processions of the emperor to an urban church remain in the *De ceremoniis*. Of these, seven are mentioned only in passing in Book II,¹⁸¹ while ten processions receive a good deal of attention in Book I.

The only service mentioned in which the patriarch is not involved is Good Friday. Several of the processions are not mentioned in HS 40: the procession to St. Mokios near the Theodosian Walls on Mid-Pentecost and one to the shrine of the Theotokos of the Source (Pege) on Ascension Day. The former was suppressed early in the tenth century after an assassination attempt on Leo VI during the processions to St. Mokios on 11 May 903.¹⁸² This probably explains why it is missing in the Typikon. The latter procession, however, raises more difficulties. The *De ceremoniis* explicitly mentions the participation of the patriarch at Pege.¹⁸³ Since Pege was outside the city, one would expect that the practice of going there on Ascension would precede use of the Great Church as the station on this day. It has already been noted above that Elaia, above Galata across the Golden Horn, was the site of celebration in the very early fifth century. Pege would have made a much more convenient substitute. Since HS 40 makes no mention of the patriarch's presence at the divine liturgy at Hagia Sophia on this day, there is no warrant for a claim that the Pege procession had been suppressed by the late tenth century. A more likely explanation would be that it had mistakenly been omitted in HS 40.

A third procession is suppressed in the *De ceremoniis* while still in the Typikon of the Great Church, namely the procession to Holy Apostles on Easter Monday. The former imperial practice is described in some detail in Bk. I, chapter 10. After the time of Leo VI, however, the emperor no longer went in procession to Holy Apostles but rather arrived there for the eucharist on horseback without procession.¹⁸⁴ Likewise, the procession to the same church on Antipascha Sunday is dropped in chapter 25 in favor of the same station used in the Typikon, namely the Great Church.¹⁸⁵

Two of the imperial processional routes described in the *De ceremoniis* are of special interest here, for they provide greater detail than the Typikon. In the Easter Monday procession (chapter 10) the emperor leaves the palace by the Chalke Gate¹⁸⁶ and goes to the Holy Well entrance of

¹⁸¹ REISKE, *De ceremoniis* I, Book II:13, pp. 559-563. See appendix §10.

¹⁸² BURY, "Ceremonial Book" p. 427, assigns this ceremony to the time of Michael III (847-862), while he was sole emperor.

¹⁸³ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, Bk. I:10, p. 77 commentary, p. 105.

¹⁸⁴ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, commentary, p. 86. In same at the Great Church was the earlier and at Holy Apostles the later practice. But it seems that the reverse is true, especially since the Typikon has the station at the Great Church. Formerly the emperor had observed Antipascha Sunday at Holy Apostles and only later at the Great Church.

¹⁸⁵ I omit all references to the elaborate route and series of receptions within the Imperial Palace, for they are not of direct concern here. My description follows Bk. I, chapter 10 (VOGT, pp. 66-72).

Hagia Sophia. He lights candles there and is met by the patriarch. They bow to one another, embrace, and enter the church together, finally coming to the Holy Doors. The patriarch enters the sanctuary while the emperor waits outside holding his candles. After a prayer the emperor hands the candles to an official and enters the sanctuary himself, then re-emerges taking a processional candle and walking down the solea while the cantors take up the processional troparion at the ambo. The emperor (at the end of the imperial procession) goes down the nave, through the narthex (thus out the imperial doors) across the atrium and down the steps of the Athyr. He passes the Milion and takes the Mese to the Forum.

At the Forum the emperor awaits the patriarchal procession, standing to the right of the oratory at the base of the porphyry column. When the ecclesiastical procession arrives the emperor re-lights candles and venerates the processional cross. The patriarch then enters the oratory "with those accustomed to do so". Meanwhile, the litany is sung. The troparion is intoned again, the patriarch and emperor reverence one another and the processions are re-formed.¹⁸⁷

Once again at the end of the imperial procession, the emperor proceeds down the Mese, with the master of ceremonies leading the singing of the troparion. The procession passes the Baker's Quarter on the Mese and the Forum Tauri, the Theotokos of Diakonissa¹⁸⁸ and the Philadelphion.¹⁸⁹ Then, turning to the right, namely where the Mese split, it passes through the Quarter of Olybrius¹⁹⁰ and Constantiniana to the Church of St. Polyeuctos and finally to the Church of Holy Apostles.

The emperor enters the narthex and is seated to await the arrival of the patriarchal procession. When the latter procession arrives, minor clerics and citizens enter through the lateral doors to the right of the nave. Orphans enter through the central or royal doors. Bishops and metropolitans reverence the emperor with a bow and also enter through the central doors. Patriarch and emperor reverence one another, embrace, and go to the royal doors where the patriarch says the prayer of entrance. This completed, the emperor reverences the gospel book and the cross. He and the patriarch then enter the nave and go to the sanctuary doors, passing by the right side of the ambo.

¹⁸⁷ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, pp. 67-68, cf. pp. 23-24 for the same order at the porphyry column on the Feast of the Nativity of the Theotokos, 8 September.

¹⁸⁸ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 174-175. A possible location of this church is the modern site of the Sultan Bayazit Djami, but this would mean that the station was before the procession reached the Forum Tauri.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon*, p. 267; JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 377. The Philadelphion was a pair of columns to the west of the Forum Tauri on the Mese just before it split north and west.

¹⁹⁰ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 362.

Several factors stand out here. First, the route from the Great Church to the Forum passes the Milion and goes up the Mese as one would expect. Second, the service at the porphyry column includes the patriarch entering the oratory at the base, where, according to tradition, the palladium of Rome and piece of the True Cross were kept. Third, processional candles are held during the procession(s). Fourth, when the emperor is participating, there are two distinct processions. Finally, the people and minor clergy enter the church together in a fairly formal procession through the Royal Doors.

The second route is taken on Mid-Pentecost to the Church of St. Mokios in the western part of the city.¹⁹¹ This time the emperor is no horseback and passes the Forum, the Forum Tauri, Philadelphion and (taking the western route of the Mese) the Forum Bovis, Xerolophos, and Exakionion. At one intersection in the Exakionion, where the Church of St. Onesimus¹⁹² is located, the cortege turns right and passes the Church of St. James the Persian.¹⁹³ Once again, the emperor enters through the atrium of St. Mokios and into the narthex where he receives the acclamations of the aristocrats and senate. He ascends a stairway passing the left gallery of the narthex and enters his mitatorium to change. He descends again when informed of the ecclesiastical procession's approach. He exits the atrium to meet the procession on the Mese, reverences gospel book and cross, exchanges bows with the patriarch, and precedes all into the atrium and narthex where he takes a seat on a throne to the left to await the patriarch. Once again the imperial and ecclesiastical procession unite in the narthex of the stational church, although this time nothing is said about the people entering prior to emperor and patriarch. When a double procession is involved, the emperor receives the patriarch. However, when the emperor is coming to the Great Church, it is the patriarch who does the receiving.¹⁹⁴ In these latter cases, much processional paraphernalia is involved. Insignia have their own places in the church; processional banners are placed on either side of the solea and the cross of Constantine is placed within the bema on the right.¹⁹⁵

That such imperial entrances to the church must have been splendid affairs is clear from the description of Harun-Ibn-Yahya, an Arab captive at the court of Basil I in the last quarter of the ninth century.¹⁹⁶ The procession of the emperor from the Imperial Palace to the church for the

¹⁹¹ The description follows chapter 26 (17) in VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, pp. 92-95.

¹⁹² JANIN, *Églises*, p. 383.

¹⁹³ JANIN, *Églises*, p. 255.

¹⁹⁴ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ VASILIEV, "Harun-ibn-Yahya", pp. 149-163.

common people (i.e. the Great Church), he says, involved over 55,000 officials (surely an exaggeration) and a great deal of pageantry.¹⁹⁷

Despite the great devotion to detail in the *De ceremoniis*, it would be an error to consider the services it describes as inflexible. We have seen circumstances that led to the suppression of several processions. Weather conditions could also force a change in the route taken.¹⁹⁸ The *De ceremoniis* makes no mention of the processions dealing with events in the life of the city, which had so large a place in the tenth-century Typikon. It is always a delicate matter to argue from silence, but it seems strange that in a work which so carefully compiles instances of imperial participation in the ecclesiastical life of the city, there is no mention of this significant aspects of liturgical life. Perhaps the emperors no longer participated in these clearly penitential processions. It could be that their attendance at processions was curtailed by their reluctance to venture far from the Imperial Palace. The life of an emperor of the Middle Byzantine period was a dangerous affair indeed. The emperor had easier and relatively safe access to the populace from his Kathisma in the Hippodrome.¹⁹⁹

10. Paris Coislin Grec 213 (1027 AD)

Among the ecclesiastical orders of processions an outstanding example is ms. Paris BN Coislin grec 213, folio 79v, edited by Dmitrievskij.²⁰⁰ The manuscript dates from the early eleventh century. It is an euchology containing a number of different prayers for different services.²⁰¹ Folio 79v describes the processional order of the patriarch from the Great Church during the stational liturgy.

The patriarch descends from the south gallery and enters the sanctuary via the side door. The *castrensis*²⁰² approaches and reverences him three times, and then holds up the altar cloth for him to kiss. The

¹⁹⁷ VASILIEV, "Harun-ibn-Yahya", pp. 158-160. The procession consists of 10,000 elders, 10,000 young men, 10,000 boys, 10,000 servants, 5,000 eunuchs, 10,000 pages, a hundred patricians with gold thuribles, 12 august patricians with golden rods, a hundred more pages, a silentarius, an old man with wash-basin, the emperor and finally the prime minister with a box of dirt, saying repeatedly to the emperor "Remember your death", a sobering thought amid all this splendor.

¹⁹⁸ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, p. 157 for the change in processional route when Annunciation and the Third Sunday of Lent coincide. The change occurs if there is too much wind.

¹⁹⁹ On the emperor's unwillingness to go far from the palace, cf. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 186.

²⁰⁰ *Opisanie II*, pp. 1009-1111.

²⁰¹ *Opisanie II*, p. 993.

²⁰² Cf. TAIT, "Pontifical Liturgy", p. 286, n. 18. He identifies the *castrensis* as "a dignitary who assisted the patriarch in vesting". This official was also in charge of the thurible. Cf. p. 288, n. 27. Cf. also DARROUZES, *Recherches*, pp. 602, 546 (89).

archdeacon gets a signal and then notifies the deacon to begin "In Peace" (i.e. the *synapie*). The subdeacon takes the cross from in front of the altar and stands to the left of the patriarch. Then the patriarch prays: "Lord, our God, remember our sins..."²⁰³ After the prayer, the patriarch greets the people: "Peace to all." The people bow their heads on the signal from the deacon and the patriarch proclaims the prayer of inclination. The cantors receive a sign from the archdeacon and begin the troparion of the procession. Another deacon approaches with the thurible, and the patriarch blesses it. Next, the patriarch takes the gospel book from the altar, stands behind the cross-bearer while the deacon censes the altar and the patriarch. The patriarch then kisses the gospel book and the cross.

The procession gets under way with the deacon holding the thurible going first, followed by the cross-bearer with the cross, the archdeacon with the gospel book, and finally the patriarch, who is without deacons supporting him.²⁰⁴ When they reach the "third river,"²⁰⁵ the patriarch stands in the middle with the gospel book to his right and the cross and thurifer to his left. The archdeacon says: "Let us implore the Lord", the formula for beginning a litany²⁰⁶ and the patriarch says: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from this holy place, everywhere and always..." He then kisses both gospel book and cross. The *domestikos*²⁰⁷ of the subdeacons takes the *phelonion*²⁰⁸ and puts it on the cross-bearer. All proceed to the Royal Doors. The patriarch turns east (i.e. toward the sanctuary) and prays. With head covered he exits from the church.

The procession goes to the Forum (or another place, says the *ordo*). At the Forum the cantors begin the doxology (of the psalm), the litany is sung and the patriarch prays (presumably first within the oratory). He blesses thrice in each direction during the ephphesis of the prayer. The same practice is continued to this day when a bishop blesses at the Little Entrance of the eucharist. A blessing prayer (prayer of inclination) follows.

²⁰³ This prayer is found in the euchology of the processional order, GUAR, *Euchologion*, p. 630. So also all the prayers of the order.

²⁰⁴ This seems to have been the usual procedure when the patriarch entered the Great Church in procession for the divine liturgy, cf. TAIT, "The Pontifical Liturgy", p. 284, where the patriarch is upheld by two archons. On the archons, cf. 285, s. 14. The practice of *susentatio* has already been commented upon in chapter two's section on *Ordo Romanus I*.

²⁰⁵ This was the third of four green marble bands across the nave of Hagia Sophia. The third river was on a line with the eastern edge of the western piers of the nave. On the rivers, cf. G. MAJESKA, "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor", *DOP* 32 (1978), pp. 299-308.

²⁰⁶ Cf. BRIGHTMAN, LEW, pp. 362, 375, 376. It is not possible to tell whether the litany was sung here. It seems possible that either the patriarch's prayer concluded the litany, or that the petitions of the litany have dropped. The nature of the litany will be discussed in chapter six.

²⁰⁷ On the office of *domestikos*, cf. DARROUZES, *Recherches*, pp. 110-117.

²⁰⁸ On the *phelonion*, TAIT, "Pontifical Liturgy", part III, pp. 103-104; also PAPAS, *Messgewänder*, pp. 112-117; also BRAUN, *Liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 234-237.

The cantors take up the troparion again and the procession proceeds to its destination, the station for the eucharist.

The order of Paris Coislin 213 goes on to give a special formula of prayer after the litany (*ektenē*) on the following days: 25 September and 5 June, when the procession goes to the Hebdomon; 26 October, an earthquake memorial; 1 July, the feast of Cosmas and Damian; and finally the Thursday after All Saints, when the procession goes out the Adriaopole Gate to the Palaia Petra. There is a special prayer given for commemorations of "fear-inspiring events", such as earthquakes and enemy attacks. Also included are the properly civic holidays (1 September, 11 May) when the procession returns from the Forum to Chalkoprateia and the Great Church respectively.

A fuller version of the order of 5 June at the Hebdomon is then given. At the Tribunal of the Hebdomon the three antiphons are sung after the doxology of the processional psalm. The patriarch (not the deacon) makes intercession for the whole church, for rulers, and for protection from earthquake, fire and bloodshed. The people respond: "Kyrie eleison." He then takes his seat, the prokimenon is sung by the deacon,²⁰⁹ then the Alleluia is sung and the gospel is read. The *ektenē* is sung and the procession goes to the Church of St. John the Theologian where the full divine liturgy takes place.

This ordo of the eleventh century makes it clear that the processional liturgy of Constantinople was still in full vigor at this time.

CONCLUSION

From the late fourth century on stational and processional activity in Constantinople's liturgy went hand in hand. In contrast to the stational systems of Jerusalem and Rome, this stational system of worship also regularly included the participation of the emperor and imperial court. Constantinople more than any other city experienced a conjunction of urban milieu and Christian worship. On the basis of the data that has been gathered here, in chapter six we shall investigate the relationship between the city of Constantinople and the development of the Byzantine liturgy.

²⁰⁹ The Typikon of the Great Church includes the reading of an epistle (Heb. 12:6-10) which seems to be omitted here; cf. MATEOS, *Typikon* I, p. 306. HS 40 adds that the patriarch is the one who reads the gospel on this day. Finally, the station is the church of the Prodomos and not St. John the Theologian as in Paris Coislin grec 213.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STATIONAL AND PROCESSIONAL LITURGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The stational liturgy of Constantinople represents the most complex use of an urban milieu for the purposes of worship, it is clear from the sources discussed that at Constantinople ecclesiastical processions were intimately related to stational practice far more than at either Jerusalem or Rome. On the basis of this evidence the present chapter will: a) clarify the terminology used to describe stational liturgy and processions at Constantinople, b) determine the origin and discuss the development of this stational and processional system of worship, and c) discuss the relationship between the city and its stational worship on the one hand and the development of the Byzantine eucharist on the other.

A. TERMINOLOGY

1. *συναξίς*

The tenth century Typikon of the Great Church most often denotes the place where the eucharist is celebrated by the word *συναξίς*. This noun is derived from the aorist participle of the verb *συνάγειν*, meaning in classical Greek "to bring together," and then more specifically, "to bring together for a meeting or festivity."¹ Employed by Christian writers, the verb gradually came to mean "to bring together for worship."² The noun *synaxis* had various shades of meaning in Christian usage, but all of them related in one way or another to an ecclesiastical assembly.³ Thus, "liturgical meeting," generally understood as any service of worship, remained a possible meaning.

¹ Cf. LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, e.g., HERODOTUS, *Hist.* 4:85; PLATO, *Phaedrus* 256c; cf. also LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, e.g. *Didache* 9:4; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 22:14; JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho* 80:1.

² LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, e.g. EUSEBIUS, HE 7:11;14; *idem.*, VC 3:65; JUSTIN MARTYR, *I Apol.* 65:1. Often another derivative, from the present tense, *συναγῆς*, is used in the same sense; cf. HANSSENS, *Institutiones* II:1, pp. 24-25, e.g. SOCRATES, HE 4:1, 3:22.

³ HANSSENS, *Institutiones* II:1, pp. 26-34. Examples for its use as eucharist are: CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Cat.* 1:5-6 (PG 33:376-377); 14:24 (PG 33:856); *Apostolic Const.* 2:39:6; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Sermon* 14:14 (PG 35:876); JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom.* 5 (at Antioch) (PG 49:79).

At the same time, the assembly for the eucharist is often understood by the term. This is the case in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church (HS 40), where *synaxis* is used to designate not only the assembly for the eucharist, but also the place, the church, or shrine at which the eucharist for a particular saint's commemoration or feast was held. There are numerous instances in the Typikon when there are several such *synaxes* designated for the same day.⁴ Since it is obvious that each of these *synaxes* could not have been the principle eucharist of the city of Constantinople on any given day, this Greek term cannot be taken as the precise equivalent of the Latin *statio*. Moreover, it must be noted that *synaxis* is etymologically closer to the Latin term for the occasional service that takes place prior to a stational procession, namely the *collecta*. But *synaxis* is never used to designate the assembly that takes place before a stational procession in Constantinople; in the Typikon it is always used to designate the eucharistic celebration itself.

The term *synaxis* is never used to designate the intermediate liturgical services that took place during the course of an ecclesiastical procession. Nevertheless, since these services acted as stopping points in the route of the stational processions, we shall refer to them as intermediate *synaxes* or intermediate stations.

To sum up then — the Byzantine liturgy in general and the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church in particular have no precise technical term equivalent to *statio*. The phenomenon that we have called stational liturgy is always called *synaxis*, but this can also refer to a church where another (non-stational) liturgy is being celebrated on a particular day. At Constantinople, therefore, the stational liturgy as such is always indicated not only by *synaxis*, but also by the presence of the patriarch and/or an ecclesiastical procession.

2. *litaneuein*, *litaneia*

As we have already seen, the outstanding feature of the stational liturgy of Constantinople was its use of liturgical processions. In the terminology of the processions the verb *litaneuein* and its allied noun *litaneia* both stand out. In classical Greek the verb originally meant "to pray, entreat, or supplicate."⁵ While it is found neither in the Old nor New Testament, the same classical meaning does appear in early Christian literature. At this point, however, it is not related to a specific form of prayer of supplication.⁶ It is in the fifth century that the meaning of

⁴ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, pp. 319.

⁵ LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, e.g., HOMER, *Odyssey* 7:145; Iliad 24:357.

⁶ BAUER-ARNDT-GINGRICH, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, e.g., IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Romans* 4:2; also LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, e.g., *Orac. Sybillina* 1:159; *Acts of John* 42; BASIL, *Ep.* 207 (PG 32:764) and specifically of earthquakes, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *On Lazarus* 6:1 (PG 62:711ff.).

litaneuein first means "supplication made during a procession."⁷ For example, the *Chronicon Paschale* in describing the emergency liturgical services at the time of the earthquake of 447 says:

"And they (the citizens) fled outside the city. All the people were processing with supplications both night and day."⁸

Moreover, in Christian usage from the fifth century on this verb is always used to refer to processions that take place out-of-doors, never to supplications that are performed inside a church building. In the tenth century Typikon of the Great Church, for example, *litaneuein* is used to refer to outdoor processions that include supplications.⁹

The noun *litaneia* is derived from this verb. As we have seen, the noun was latinized to refer to processions in the Roman stational liturgy. In the Septuagint *litaneia* means "entreaty."¹⁰ This meaning is still found in Eusebius¹¹ although from the second century in Christian literature it can also mean "common supplication."¹² In Roman usage *letania* can mean supplications performed inside a church, as in the *Ordines Romani*, but in Greek the term first refers to supplications during the eucharist only in the tenth-century Codex Pyromalus.¹³ Before this, series of supplications during the eucharist were referred to as either *synapte* or *ekiene* (terms which will be discussed below in section C). The processional overtones of *litaneuein* and *litaneia* can be clarified by reference to a cognate word to which we now turn.

3. *litē*

The noun *litē* is the technical term used to designate a liturgical procession in both the Typikon of the Great Church and the *De ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The root *lit* is related etymologically to both *litaneuein* and *litaneia*. Like these latter words, in classical Greek *litē*

⁷ Cf. LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, and SCHWARTZ, *ACO* 1:1:1 (p. 65), in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus; also in the fifth century, ASCLEPIADES TRALLENSIS, *Ep. ad P. Fullonem*, (ACO 3:10,11,21); QUINTIANUS ASCULANUS, *Ep. ad P. Fullonem* (ACO 3, p. 15), and in the sixth century, THEODORE LECTOR, *HE* 1:6.

⁸ CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 586, cf. also pp. 588, 598, 638. The passage referred reads: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως λιτανεύοντες ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας...

⁹ e.g. MATEOS, *Typikon* I, p. 9; November 6: καὶ λιτανεύοντες ἀνιέρχονται ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ.

¹⁰ Cf. LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, e.g. 2 *Macc* 3:20; 10:16.

¹¹ e.g. EUSEBIUS, *HE* 5:1:61.

¹² e.g. IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* 2:11:2; EUSEBIUS, *VC* 4:61; BASIL, *Ep.* 207:4.

¹³ The Byzantine terms for what we commonly call *litanies*, namely σὺνταξις (series) and ἐκτινή (insistent) will be treated below. *Litaneia* is used neither in the fourth century *Apostolic Constitutions* 8 (cf. BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, p. 9, nor in the ninth-century Liturgy of St. Basil, *LEW*, p. 314.

can mean both "prayer" and "entreaty."¹⁴ In early Christian usage it means "supplication" in general,¹⁵ but by the fifth century it can mean supplication during a liturgical procession. This is the way it is employed for example by Sozomen in describing the Antiochene processions during the Affair of the Statues.¹⁶ The Byzantine chroniclers commonly use *lite* to refer to ecclesiastical processions that contain supplicatory prayer. As we have noted in the liturgical and ceremonial books of the tenth century, it is a technical term referring exclusively to outdoor processions in the stationary liturgy.¹⁷

There are three further Greek terms which refer to processional activity. None of them, however, refers to liturgical processions in Christian usage. The first is the classical Greek term for a religious procession, *πομπή*. Since in both Greek and its Latin translation this term had strong pagan connotations, it came to mean "the works of the devil" and was thus not employed in Christian liturgical terminology for processions.¹⁸ Although the term *lite* was used to refer to liturgical processions that involved the emperor and his court,¹⁹ it was not employed for all imperial processions as such. Here a careful distinction was made. An imperial procession or "progress" even to the Great Church for the celebration of the eucharist, when it did not involve an ecclesiastical procession as well, was referred to as either *προέλευσις* or *πρόκλιμα*.²⁰

It is important to note that in the liturgical and historical sources of the Church of Constantinople up until the tenth century the term *lite* refers

¹⁴ Cf. LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, e.g., HOMER, *Odyssey* 11:34; HERODOTUS, *Hist.* 1:116; PINDAR, *Odes* 2:80; AESCHYLUS, *Præmetheus Bound* 1008, *Persian Women* 499, *Agamemnon* 396; EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 1233.

¹⁵ Cf. LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, e.g. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom.* 3:3 in *Col.* (PG 62:294).

¹⁶ SOZOMEN, *HE* 7:23; ... μελωδίας τισιν ὁλοφυσικῶς πρὸς τὰς λιταὺς καὶ χρημαίοντες ... ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχείων παλαιοῦς εἶναι (GCS 50: p.336).

¹⁷ Cf. *λίτη* in MATEOS' liturgical glossary, *Typicon* II, p. 304. Mateos translates the term as rogation. In this he is followed by TAFT, "Pontifical Liturgy," p.287 (cf. also *ibid.*, Part II, pp.111-112). Taft seems to consider *λίτη* to mean the rogational service of prayer itself. While such services during the intermediate stations may have originally given the name to the processions as a whole, it is better in my opinion to consider *λίτη* as the equal of processions in the tenth century terminology. In support of this, cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* and VOGT, *Livre des Cérémonies* I, commentary, pp.72-73.

¹⁸ Cf. LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*. This is a much used word in classical Greek. In patristic Greek it refers to pagan processional cf. LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, e.g., GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Chr. Orat.* 18 (PG 45:53); as well as to theatrical display, e.g., CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Cat.* 19, *Apocritic Const.* 2:6:2. The pagan *pompae* will be further discussed in connection with processions in general in chapter seven.

¹⁹ e.g., VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, p.68, the Monday after Easter, p.162, Palm Sunday, p.174, the Feast of Church Union. Several times the emperor carries a processional candle, cf. pp.139, 134.

²⁰ VOGT, *Livre des cérémonies* I, commentary, pp. 5-7.

only to ecclesiastical processions held outdoors. Thus, the liturgical entrance of the bishop into a church at the beginning of the eucharist is not referred to as a *lite*, but rather as an *εἰσοδος*.²¹ Moreover, when the bishop or patriarch merely goes to a church to celebrate the eucharist; i.e., when he goes without a popular liturgical procession, this is referred to as *ἀνέρχεται* or *κατέρχεται* in the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church.

We can draw the following conclusions from the foregoing. First, the term *synaxis* was not a technical term for a station, since it had broader use in the liturgical documents. This could mean that at Constantinople the stationary liturgy had less formal status than at Rome, where the archdeacon made an explicit announcement of the forthcoming *statio*, and where the term was reserved for the bishop's liturgy. It need not mean, however, that the phenomenon which we have called stationary liturgy was absent in Constantinople.

Second, *litanein*, *litaneia*, and especially the technical term *lite* were carefully distinguished as popular liturgical processions as opposed to other processional activity in the liturgy of Constantinople and the ceremony of the imperial court.

Third, the *lite* was by definition an activity that took place in public, on the streets of the city.

Fourth, there are strong etymological associations with supplicatory prayer in the origins of the liturgical procession at Constantinople. *Lite* referred not only to liturgical procession, but also to the fact that such a procession always included some form of supplication in addition to psalmody and hymnody.

B. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATIONAL LITURGY AT CONSTANTINOPLE

The origins of stationary worship in Constantinople are difficult to discern. Whereas the hagiopolite system rested on a number of traditional holy sites and the ecclesial practice of Wednesday and Friday stationary services at Zion, and the Roman stationary practice was spurred by the size and variegation of the city's urban Christian community, Constantinople had no such clear reason for developing a mobile system of worship. Since the city did not have many authentic martyrs of its own, there were few if any martyrial shrines ready-to-hand in the fourth century. In fact, the number of Christian sites of worship prior to Constantine's adoption and expansion of the city cannot be determined with any accuracy. It does seem that there was a pre-Constantinian center near the Tetrastoon,

²¹ Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp.291-292.

namely Hagia Eirene, "the Old Church." As far as Constantinian foundations are concerned, it seems that this emperor initiated construction of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) and a shrine to honor himself, Holy Apostles. He is also credited with the foundation of St. Akakios, a church honoring one of the city's traditional martyrs.²²

Evidence that the bishop of the city celebrated the eucharist in different churches stems from the very end of the fourth century in the episcopate of John Chrysostom, who had also as a presbyter preached in various churches and shrines at Antioch.²³ We have also seen that Chrysostom was involved in elaborate ecclesiastical processions and also that, according to both Socrates and Sozomen, he used frequent liturgical processions to counter the processions of the Arian party in the city.

The same concern for unity had arisen a decade earlier during the brief episcopate of Gregory of Nazianzus, whose final Constantinopolitan homilies manifest a pride in the orthodox party's regaining control of the city's churches. It was ecclesiastical strife that made manifest the possession of the various churches and shrines as well as public worship by means of processions an important factor in the liturgy of Constantinople.

It is a mistake to attempt to tie the origins of the stational practice of Constantinople to either Rome or Jerusalem. To be sure, there were reminiscences of hagiopolite practice in the celebration of the Ascension at Eleia across the Golden Horn, in the procession on Palm Sunday, and in the naming of a fifth-century monastery church "Jerusalem." But this does not show a concern with imitating Jerusalem's stational pattern, which was so closely tied to the holy sites. Roman stational practice, as we have seen, centered on the liturgical season of Lent and on the division of the urban churches into major basilicas, *tituli*, and cemeterial shrines. There is no evidence that Lent was a particularly stational season at Constantinople. Moreover, one of the reasons for the existence of the *tituli* seems to have been their existence as community centers in pre-Constantinian Rome. This situation did not obtain at Byzantium. Perhaps most important is the fact that the major Christian edifice of the city of Constantinople, the Great Church, was located in the monumental center of the city, and not excluded from the monumental area as were all Christian buildings at Rome until the early sixth century, when its stational system was more or less fixed.

Therefore, the unique factor in the stational liturgy of Constantinople was the need to manifest the unity of the cult in the midst of ecclesiastical division. As to the development of the stational system that we find mature only in tenth-century documents, another factor was operative as well. Stational celebrations took place at predictable places. Just as martyrial

commemorations took place at their shrines in Rome and events in the life of Christ were celebrated liturgically at appropriate holy sites in Jerusalem, so also at Constantinople feasts and commemorations took place where one might expect. For example, feasts of the Theotokos took place in churches dedicated to her, the feasts of the Apostles Luke and Andrew both took place at the Church of the Holy Apostles where their relics had been deposited, and the earthquake commemorative procession on 26 September had as its goal the Hebdomon where the citizens of Constantinople took refuge in 447.

The origins of the stational liturgy of Constantinople in the ecclesiastical strife of the city also highlight the use of popular liturgical processions in this urban system of worship. At Constantinople these processions seem to have outnumbered those held at both Jerusalem and Rome. This is true of the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church, but it is also a valid assessment of the evidence in the fifth-century church historians Socrates and Sozomen. The latter claim that liturgical processions took place on the days that the eucharistic synaxes were held, namely Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days. These processions through the porticoed streets of Constantinople were crucial to the popularity of the Arian and Nicene parties. It is most probably the frequency and importance of this processional activity that accounts for the enormous influence of processions in Constantinople's stational practice on the development of the Byzantine liturgy.

It is important to note, moreover, that fifth-century processions using antiphonal psalmody were not so much discrete liturgical entities as they were a part of the whole urban pattern of worship. The liturgy in the city was the liturgy of the city. The average worshipper did not so much "go to mass" as participate in the worship-life of the city as it unfolded. There can be little doubt that on the basis of the fifth-century evidence, as well as that of the tenth century, liturgical processions were part and parcel of this urban worship-life.

In addition, in an era when politics and religion were not as separable as they are today, these processions were civil affairs as well. They had political and propagandistic overtones, as is clear from their regulation by the Emperor Anastasius as well as the earlier imperial legislation. In the Theodosian Code heretics were forbidden to demonstrate by means of processions within the city of Constantinople.²⁴ In the *Novellae* of Justinian it was a punishable crime to hold liturgical processions without ecclesiastical sanction and leadership. It was also a crime to disturb such

²² Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 14-15.

²⁴ VAN DE PAVEND, *Messalurgie*, pp. 4-18, esp. p. 14, also pp. 61-68.

²⁴ MOMMSEN, *Theodosian Code*, Berlin, 1905, xvi.5.10 for the years 396-402: "Ad hoc interdictur his omnibus ad litamiam faciendum inter civitatem vocari vel ingredi profanus coire conventibus..."

processions.²⁵ Such political factors in the religious processions of Constantinople ought to make us wary of distinguishing too sharply between "religious" and "secular" activities within urban life, for liturgical processions were a frequent occurrence in the public life of the city. That they were a potent factor in urban political life is clear from their need to be regulated by law.

The chroniclers and historians between the fifth and tenth centuries, it is true, tend to accent processions which were held on extraordinary occasions, for example during earthquakes or foreign invasions. But this does not rule out the frequency of liturgical processions at Constantinople, for sources of this type always tend to pass over ordinary affairs and focus on the extraordinary. We are in a better position to judge the frequency of liturgical processions in the urban liturgy of the tenth century because of the full calendar provided by the Typikon of the Great Church. In this typikon processions are limited for the most part to feasts of the sanctoral calendar; they do not take place very Saturday and Sunday, as was clearly the case in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

Therefore, the tenth-century source may witness a major decrease in the number of urban liturgical processions. A lessening of frequency could have taken place sometime between the fifth and tenth centuries. This contention is supported by considering the churches which were used as *termini* of the liturgical processions. There are thirty-seven such churches mentioned in the Typikon of the Great Church. Of these thirty-seven, thirty-one were founded before the Iconoclast crisis of the early eighth century. Therefore, the stationary practice of the city was probably well settled by the end of the seventh century.²⁶ Moreover, these thirty-one churches included all of the larger churches of the city, with the exception of Basil's *Nea Ekklesia*, a palatine church.

The earlier frequency of liturgical processions at Constantinople is also accentuated by the importance given to Constantine's Forum in the tenth-century Typikon. Forty-six out of sixty-eight processions have an intermediate service at the Oratory of Constantine in the base of the porphyry column in this Forum. Its proximity of about 650 meters from the Great Church and its location in the path of the main thoroughfare of the city suggest that it would have been an ideal spot for such stationary service in the fifth- and sixth-century liturgy of the city.

²⁵ JUSTINIAN, *Novellae* 123:31, 123:32, for 545 AD: πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς λευκοῖς ἀπαγορευόμεναις ποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ὁσίων τῶν τότε ἐπισκόπων — τῶν δὲ πρὸς εὐλαβείαν κληρικῶν: ποῦ γὰρ ἔστι λίτῃ ἐν ἱερῇ οὐχ ἐρίσκονταί καὶ τὰς συνήεις νομοθείας;

²⁶ BROWN, "Dark-Age Crisis", pp. 17-23, 27. Brown sees Iconoclasm as an attempt to shift the individual's access to the holy from holy men, relics, and icons to public (and more officially controlled) worship. A new emphasis on public worship in eighth-century Constantinople need not mean, however, that out-door worship life was not always a factor in Constantinople's urban liturgy.

Further consideration of the liturgical processions in the Typikon of the Great Church reveals that there is no logical arrangement of them throughout the year, nor is there an attempt to vary the use of the stational churches, now in one part of the city, now in another. This strongly suggests that we are dealing with the remains of a practice that had been more frequent in an era prior to the compilation of the Typikon. In other words, it seems that the usual Saturday and Sunday processions have dropped out of the Typikon of the tenth century, while the processions on extraordinary occasions have remained. This tendency to lessen the frequency of the stational processions is also revealed in the tenth-century *De ceremoniis*.²⁷

Thus, evidence points to the seventh and eighth centuries as the time when the decrease in frequency of the processions took place. This hypothesis is made more reasonable when one notes that it was during these centuries that Constantinople suffered a social and economic decline. The frequency of games and races in the Hippodrome fell off;²⁸ the population lessened drastically, especially after the plague of 747; very few new churches were built, and the city found itself in dire straits.²⁹ Such a period may well have witnessed a reduction in ecclesiastical splendor, a diminishment of the grand scale of the urban liturgy. One of the aspects of urban liturgy which suffered could well have been the liturgical processions. Therefore, in the tenth-century Typikon we find a scattered arrangement of the stational processions, the remains of earlier practice.

Just as there was no clear organizing principle for the liturgical processions of the Typikon of the Great Church, so also the distribution of the stational churches lacked systematization. The stational churches tended to be located in the well-populated quarters of the city, near or within the Constantinian walls, along the Sea of Marmora, and also along the Golden Horn. There were exceptions, of course. These were the major shrines that ringed the city like a charmed circle, namely the Theotokos of the Pege, the Theotokos of Blachernae,³⁰ the Theotokos of the Palaia Petra, and the shrines of John the Baptist and John the Apostle in the Hebdomon. Notice that while Rome was able to use shrines of famous martyrs for the arrangement of a charmed circle of protection for the city, Constantinople did not have the luxury of such genuine martyrs. The major protectors of the city had not been buried there. And so, shrines had

²⁷ For example, on Easter Monday, Mid-Pentecost, and perhaps on Ascension Day, cf. above, chapter five.

²⁸ Cf. CAMERON, *Porphyrios*, pp. 252-258.

²⁹ For a general description of urban decline, cf. MANGO, *Byzantium*, pp. 71-81.

³⁰ Blachernae is here considered external to the city itself, because it was a separate enclave enclosed by walls prior to the mid-fifth-century Theodosian walls. Cf. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon*, p. 301; JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 38.

to be invented, so to speak, at strategic areas around the city. These provided both the relaxation of the city's suburbs and the idea that God would defend the city against attack. The fact that major shrines in all three cities, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople, were located outside the city walls may also have served to remind the populace that divine aid was ultimately to be sought outside the city and of its natural resources of defence.

With regard to the origins and development of the stational practice of Constantinople, we conclude that:

a) At Constantinople, stational liturgy was from the very beginning intentionally public because of the need to manifest the power of the established church in the midst of ecclesiastical strife and subsequently to manifest the unity of the church.

b) This public nature of the city's stational liturgy as well as its lay-out of churches, forums, and shrines encouraged the frequency of liturgical processions.

c) The main lines of the stational organization of Constantinople were set before the Iconoclast crisis of the early eighth century.

d) The decline in the frequency of liturgical processions probably took place in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries.

e) The lack of a clear stational pattern in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church is probably due to the fact that it is the remains of earlier, more frequent stational practice. The extraordinary stational liturgies and processions tended to remain a part of the urban liturgical repertoire.

C. STATIONAL LITURGY AND THE BYZANTINE EUCHARIST

Having seen the importance of popular liturgical processions for the stational liturgy of Constantinople, we now turn to the relationship between this heavily processional system of worship and the development of the Byzantine Eucharist, paying close attention to the various individual aspects that made up stational services, especially those which included psalmody and litanic prayer.

1. The Office of Three Antiphons

Evidence from the church historians Socrates and Sozomen suggests that liturgical processions in Constantinople involved antiphonal psalmody from at least the early fifth century on. Like responsorial psalmody, antiphonal psalmody involves popular response by the worshippers. But unlike responsorial psalmody, in the latter the people respond to the

cantors in two choirs, and the responses tend to be ecclesiastical compositions rather than biblical verses. Antiphonal psalms are concluded by the *Gloria Patri*, an extra repetition of the refrain, and an abbreviated refrain (*perisse*).³¹ This form of psalmody is popular psalmody par excellence since the ends of the refrains can be repeated easily by the people. Thus, it is ideally suited to processions in which responses would necessarily have been simple, given the logistics of getting a crowd to sing the same thing while in motion. The *troparia* of the Byzantine liturgy were originally the refrains to these antiphonal psalms.³² It is precisely the antiphonal form of psalmody which one finds in the liturgical processions at Constantinople, since the psalmody in processions contains *troparia* which are ecclesiastical compositions and always end with the *Gloria Patri*.

The Typikon of the Great Church also mentions a special arrangement of this form of psalmody which is called the office of three antiphons. How this office entered the Byzantine liturgy is not entirely clear. Chrysostom makes no mention at all of psalmody at the beginning of the eucharistic celebration. He implies that the service began straightway with the greeting of peace.³³ Likewise, at the beginning of the seventh century, Maximus the Confessor speaks of the people entering the church together with the bishop, but with regard to singing, he says nothing at all.³⁴ It is at the beginning of the eighth century that we find the first mention of the office of three antiphons. They are found in the Patriarch Germanus' commentary on the eucharist, where they form part of the preparation for the entrance rite, or little entrance.³⁵ Prayers which accompany the office of three antiphons are found less than a hundred years later in the Barberini Euchologion.³⁶ From the Typikon of the Great Church we know that the psalms usually employed in this office were Psalms 92, 93 and 95.³⁷ The last is a most suitable processional chant with its verse two:

Let us come into his presence with thanksgiving; Let us make a joyful noise to him with songs of praise.

The Typikon provides other psalms for the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.

³¹ For these distinctions, cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 1; TAFT, "Structural Analysis," pp. 321-324; PETIT, "Antiphone", col. 2474. Thus, in the oriental sources antiphon does not first of all mean a chant alternated between two choirs. Its origin may well have been the city of Antioch. For the antiphon as a segment of the psalter, cf. STRUNK, "Byzantine Office".

³² Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 113; TAFT, "Structural Analysis," p. 323.

³³ Cf. VAN DER PAVERT, *Messliturgie*, pp. 426-427; MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 27.

³⁴ LIT-BUKOLINA, *Mystagogie*, pp. 444-445, (PG 91.688-689).

³⁵ BORGIA, "La exegesis di S. Germano", *Roma e l'Oriente* 2 (1911), §23-24, p. 226.

³⁶ BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, pp. 310-312; Ms. Barberini Gk. 336.

³⁷ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 49.

Germanus clearly considered the three-antiphon office ■ preparatory to the eucharist and distinct from the rite of entrance. They act, he said, like prophecies of the coming of Christ, whereas the entrance with the Gospel is itself a symbol of the Incarnation. Given this evidence, the simplest answer to the question of the introduction of the three-antiphon office would be that it was added to the beginning of the Byzantine Eucharist sometime in the century that separated the commentary of Maximus (ca. 630) and that of Germanus (ca. 733). The problem with this line of argument, however, is that it fails to ask when each of the writers considered the eucharist to begin. One must beware, then, of proceeding on positivist grounds and claiming that this office did not exist simply because Maximus did not mention ■.³⁸ For Maximus, the office may have been considered strictly preparatory and ■ such may not have fit into his interpretive scheme of the eucharistic rite. After all, his Mystagogy was more an interpretation than a commentary.

A phenomenological view of the problem can be stated this way: we know that the people entered the church together with the bishop at the little entrance at least up until the time of Maximus. It is difficult to imagine that such an entrance was done in silence, especially when one considers the popularity and frequency of processions with antiphonal psalms. Why, then, three antiphons? De Meester saw their origin in the Jerusalem morning office, which contained three psalms, and therefore, argued that they were an addition inspired by the conjunction of morning office with the eucharist at Constantinople. Mateos has proposed that they were added to cover the prothesis, which had been moved to just prior to the little entrance instead of its original place before the great entrance. He speculates that two psalms were added to the original entrance psalm (Ps 95) to provide more time.³⁹ But the preparation of the gifts before the little entrance cannot have been an eighth-century innovation, as Mateos' argument suggests, for the gifts must always have been brought to the sketophylakion before the liturgy as a whole began. The eighth-century novelty might be the prayers associated with this preparation.⁴⁰

There is a more reasonable explanation for the use of the three-antiphon office in conjunction with the beginning of the Byzantine Eucharist. This explanation lies in the processional nature of the stational liturgy of Constantinople. According to the Typikon of the Great Church the office of three antiphons was sung in the Forum at the intermediate stational service on five days of the year.⁴¹ Taft has concluded that it was

³⁸ Pace MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 42, who claims that there was no preparatory psalmody prior to the time of Germanus.

³⁹ Thus, MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 34. DE MEESTER, "Grecques (Liturgies)", col. 1628.

⁴⁰ TAFT, *Great Entrance*, p. 34. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 161: he insists that the prothesis is a novelty in the exposition of Germanus.

⁴¹ Cf. appendix § 10.

this office of three antiphons which was added to the eucharist's little entrance, and that the last psalm of the office replaced the entrance psalm at the eucharist. Thus, he notes, the Prayer of Entrance is a dangling remains since it reduplicates the original function of the prayer of the third antiphon.⁴² Taft's attention to the stational office in the Forum and its connection with the three-antiphon office of the eucharist provides the background for our explanation.

First, one notes that in the tenth-century Typikon, the three-antiphon office had a rogational or supplicatory character. It was used on days which commemorated civil disasters or events that were crucial to the existence of the city. One sign of the rogational character of these services is the use of the *ekmene* or insistent litany. Therefore, there were five days of the year when a rogational office of three antiphons was performed at an intermediate stational service. On most other days the three-antiphon office directly preceded the eucharist. But one also notices that there were twenty-four eucharistic orders in the tenth-century Typikon for which the office of three antiphons was explicitly excluded. In each case a stational procession preceded the eucharist. Therefore, the procession with antiphonal psalmody might seem to have replaced the three-antiphon office.

However, when one considers the frequency of liturgical processions with antiphonal psalms in the fifth century, the opposite possibility arises. We have already argued above that the frequency of the urban liturgical processions decreased significantly in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries. And so, it would seem that the place to look for the origin of the three-antiphon office is the stational procession. In this case, the procession did not replace a three-antiphon office at the beginning of the eucharist in the tenth-century Typikon, but rather at some point between the seventh and ninth centuries ■ office that had originally been associated with liturgical processions was added on even to eucharistic celebrations that had no stational character. Therefore, the twenty-four occasions on which there is no office of three antiphons in the tenth-century Typikon represent an earlier stage of the Byzantine liturgy in which processional psalmody was the usual practice on days which had a stational character.⁴³

Why, then, were there precisely three antiphons? Here, once again, ■ phenomenological rather than a positivist view of the evidence is more helpful. In the fifth and sixth centuries, given the popularity and frequency of stational processions, it is probable that ■ great many of these

⁴² TAFT, "How Liturgies Grow," pp. 365-366: "It is not an exaggeration to say that practically every addition to the Byzantine eucharist from Justinian until the post-iconoclast period had its origin in the stational liturgy of Constantinople."

⁴³ TAFT, "How Liturgies Grow," pp. 365-366.

processions had the Great Church as their terminus, especially on Sundays. Where did they begin? Although there is no hard and fast evidence to base this on, when one considers the frequency of use of the Forum of Constantine in the stational processions of the Typikon, it would seem that the Forum is a distinct possibility as the starting point for these processions. Walking the distance of 650 meters from the Forum to the Great Church would provide ample time for the singing of Psalms 92 and 93. Psalm 95 would have been reserved as the entrance psalm for the eucharist.

If this theory is correct, more psalms might have been added when the procession took a longer route than the distance between the Forum and the Great Church. Admittedly, the Typikon is of little help here, for often only one *troparion* is provided even for processions of great length, for example to the Holy Apostles or Blachernae. Many *troparia* and psalms might have been sung on such days. The advantage of the theory stated above is that it provides a rationale for the addition of the office of three antiphons to the ordinary (i.e. non-stational) Byzantine Eucharist. As a popular office it remained when the processions (at least many of them) dropped out of the urban liturgy at Constantinople. Even if the theory be proved incorrect on the basis of more evidence, it is clear that the office of three antiphons had its origin in the stational practice of Constantinople.

2. The Trisagion

Another element of the Byzantine Eucharist, illumined by the Constantinopolitan stational liturgy, is the Trisagion. This chant was introduced into the eucharistic liturgy of the city sometime during the fifth century. We have already seen that its legendary origins lay in the earthquake processions of 25 September 447.⁴⁴ By the mid-fifth century we already have an example of it being employed liturgically at the Council of Chalcedon (451).⁴⁵ Recent study has demonstrated that the Trisagion was originally used as a *troparion* in antiphonal psalmody, for the *troparion* is repeated three times, there is a *Gloria Patri*, and there is a final repetition, *perisse*.⁴⁶ Moreover, as part of antiphonal psalmody it was used in procession, for the *troparion* of the Cross and the baptismal *troparion*, both processional, can replace the use of the Trisagion itself. Also, Pope Felix III in writing to Zeno in the late fifth century refers to *ten trisagion litan*, the supplicatory procession of the Trisagion.⁴⁷ By the beginning of the

⁴⁴ The event is first referred to in the fifth century work of NESTORIUS, *Bazaar*, p. 363. See above chapter five.

⁴⁵ MANSI 6:936c.

⁴⁶ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 98-101, 106; also, HANSSENS, *Institutiones* 3:2, pp. 110-119.

⁴⁷ MANSI, 7:1052a. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 113.

sixth century the Trisagion appeared at the beginning of the Byzantine Eucharist. Mateos argues that it had by this time become an introit *troparion* used with Ps 80, which is clearly a psalm of supplication.⁴⁸ Therefore, despite the silence of Maximus the Confessor on this matter, it seems that processional psalmody linked to the outdoor processions did accompany the little entrance. We see here, therefore, a direct connection between what had originally been a processional psalm for the *lite*, the outdoor procession, and the entrance rite of the eucharist.

The processional function of the Trisagion was not eliminated by its inclusion at the eucharist proper, for still in the ninth and tenth centuries it appeared as the *troparion* for several outdoor processions, for example on 25 September and 6 November. The Trisagion also remained the processional chant at the eucharist on days when the three-antiphon office was not employed, for example on 8 September, 16 January and 11 May.

In view of all the foregoing, we understand the inclusion of the Trisagion in the Byzantine Eucharist as stemming not only from its theological significance in the post-Chalcedonian Christological debates and popular piety, but also from its association with the processional liturgy of the city. Therefore, Constantinopolitan worship directly influenced the development of the *risodor* of the Byzantine Eucharist in the use of both the office of three antiphons and the Trisagion.

3. Readings and the Liturgy of the Processions

Four of the intermediate stational services described in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church include a service of biblical readings in addition to psalmody and prayer. In each case the liturgy of the day commemorated a major event in the civil life of Constantinople:

1 September	—	Indiction and Great Fire
25 September	—	Great earthquake of 447
11 May	—	Dedication of the City
5 June	—	Siege of the Avars and Persians

These reading services took the same form as the reading synaxis of the eucharistic liturgy, namely:

Prokeimenon
Epistle
Alleluia
Gospel

⁴⁸ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 112-113; cf. MANSI 8:1063e.

Two of the services took place at the Tribunal of the Hebdomon, where the emperors were traditionally acclaimed.⁴⁹ These were the services of 25 September and 5 June. The other two (1 September and 11 May) were performed at the Porphyry Column in the Forum of Constantine. One notes that the structure of these services of reading is the same as that of the commemorative-stational services in the Jerusalem liturgy.⁵⁰

There is no mention of such reading services in Byzantine documents prior to the tenth-century Typikon. Their infrequent occurrence in this source as well makes it difficult to argue that they took place more frequently in the pre-iconoclast period. Moreover, the importance of the days on which they were celebrated suggests that as commemorations of major events in the life of the city, the services had always been infrequent and were held only during warmer months. Therefore, it seems that the hagiopolite liturgy's frequent use of readings at out-door stational services was not adapted to Constantinopolitan stational liturgy. Moreover, these infrequent reading services at Constantinople had no discernible impact on the development of the Byzantine Eucharist.

4. Intercessory Prayer

Every stational service mentioned in the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church contains prayers of supplication. Though the supplication is always litanic, it can take two forms: *synapte* or *ektene*. Moreover, at many of the intermediate stational services such supplication is referred to as "the usual prayers." Therefore, in discussing the relationship of supplicatory prayer, Constantinople's stational liturgy, and the development of the Byzantine Eucharist, it is necessary to distinguish the use of the *synapte* from the use of the *ektene* as well as to identify what is meant by "the usual prayers."

The *synapte* is the same form of prayer that one finds as series-of-intercessions-with-response in the classic rites of the eucharist.⁵¹ It consists of series of invitations to pray for specific intentions coupled with response by the people (*Kyrie eleison*) and concluding prayer by the priest. The structural origins of this form of litany have been sought in the more ancient formula of prayer, consisting of invitation, silent prayer by all, and spoken prayer by the priest.⁵² In this theory the silent prayer is replaced by a short response by the people, for example, *Kyrie eleison*, and

⁴⁹ The reading synaxes at the Tribunal of the Hebdomon are described in detail in the eleventh-century processional order, Paris BN Coislin gr. 213, cf. DMITRIEVSKII, *Opisanie II*, pp. 1010-1011.

⁵⁰ Cf. chapter (two), p. 42; also ZERFASS, *Schriftleitung*, pp. 5, 14; LEEB, *Gesänge*, p. 276.

⁵¹ e.g., *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8, BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, pp. 9-12.

⁵² Cf. TAIT, "Structural Analysis," p. 320.

⁵³ Cf. DÖLGER, *Sei Salus*, pp. 71-93, esp. p. 78 "Eleison ist bei den Griechen uralter Gebetsruf, den schon Aristophanes verwendet."

the petitions as a whole are concluded by the priest's prayer. However, the etiology of this litanic form is to be found not only in the desire to fill unwelcome liturgical vacuums, but also to provide a means of prayer that could more easily be adapted to large groups of people, and employing the ancient pre-Christian supplicatory prayer, *Kyrie eleison*.⁵³

By contrast, the *ektene*, also a litanic form, consists not only of diaconal invitations but of direct addresses to God, which are completed by the people's response, *Kyrie eleison*. It is also characterized by the piling up of intercessory verbs at the end of each prayer ("we pray you, hear us and have pity on us") and a multiple repetition of the *Kyrie* after the last petition.⁵⁴

As a fervent supplication, the *ektene* was ideally suited to the rogational and supplicatory character of processions at Constantinople. In the Byzantine Eucharist from the ninth century on it appeared before the dismissals prior to the great entrance. However, its origin cannot be located in the eucharistic liturgy itself, for early such supplication was to be made only in the presence of the faithful.⁵⁵ The true origin of the *ektene* can be discerned by once again turning to the processions of the Constantinopolitan stational liturgy, where this form of supplication was employed frequently in the intermediate services. We may take as an example the service in the Forum on 7 October, an earthquake commemoration. The procession had begun at the Church of the Anastasia:

... the procession goes to the Forum, and the cantors chant the *Gloria Patri*. The deacon proclaims the great *ektene* and the cantors begin the processional *troparion*...⁵⁶

The *ektene* was employed in this fashion in fifteen of the Typikon's sixty-eight processional offices.⁵⁷ It was used in six of the nine earthquake commemorative liturgies as well as every other memorial of a specifically civic nature. Since it was the form of litany which followed the gospel at stations where readings took place, it seems that its inclusion after the

⁵⁴ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 149-150. Mateos defined the adjective *ektenes*, p. 148: "Vivement, fervent, insistant, persévérant, assidu; le contexte où il se trouve dans la liturgie impose la signification 'insistant, fervent.' Il s'agit donc d'une supplication insistante au même sens que la communauté chrétienne priait pour Pierre tandis que l'apôtre était en prison (Act. 12:5)."

⁵⁵ TAIT, "How liturgies grow," pp. 368-369; MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 154; cf. BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, pp. 314-315 for its position prior to the dismissal of the catechumens in the ninth century euchologion. The same is true of its position in the tenth(?) century liturgy of Basil in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae, GUAR, *Euchologion*, p. 154.

⁵⁶ MATEOS, *Typikon I*, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Cf. the appendix to this chapter. MATEOS, *Typikon II*, p. 293 gives fourteen, omitting 14 December, an earthquake memorial.

gospel in the eucharistic texts from the ninth century on was an imitation of stational practice. Like the Trisagion and three-antiphon office, originally employed in the liturgical processions and then the ordinary eucharistic liturgy, so also the *ektenē* retained its function in the more solemn urban stational services.⁵⁸

Turning to the *synapte*, we find that in the ninth-century Barberini Euchologion what had originally been a form of the prayer of the faithful has disappeared from its position after the dismissals and before the great entrance.⁵⁹ It is found, rather, between the prayer of entrance and the Trisagion. Moreover, the prayer of the Trisagion is recited during this litany, and therefore, the *synapte* is called either "*synapte* of the Trisagion" or "*aitesis* of the Trisagion."⁶⁰

However, after the twelfth century, the *synapte* is found before the office of three antiphons and not after the prayer of entrance. Once again, Constantinople's stational practice is helpful in explaining these shifts, for the *synapte*'s link with the Trisagion in the centuries prior to its placement at the beginning of the eucharist provides us with clues. The prayer of the Trisagion, recited by the priest during the *synapte*, combines both supplication in a penitential mode with supplication for worthiness to sing the thrice-holy hymn.⁶¹ Since the origins of the Trisagion in the liturgy of Constantinople were processional, it is likely that the litany itself was linked to the processions, perhaps even at a time when the *synapte* was still sung after the dismissals. My theory is that it was thus attracted to the beginning of the eucharistic liturgy along with the Trisagion because of its popularity in the stational processions. The same process is evident in the adoption of a *kyrie*-litany at the beginning of the Roman eucharistic rite.

The link with processional practice at Constantinople is further strengthened by an allusion in the Typikon of the Great Church to the effect that the *synapte* (as "prayer of the Trisagion")⁶² began the procession at the church of departure, even when the Trisagion was not sung until the beginning of the stational eucharist.⁶³ This allusion to the

⁵⁸ This is the conclusion of MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 155 as well: "Le texte pénitentiel de l'ektenē originelle, la supplication insistante et le geste d'étendre les mains qui probablement l'accompagnait, s'accordaient parfaitement avec le caractère des rogations, célébrées souvent aux anniversaires des désastres subis par la capitale: incendies, tremblements de terre, pluie de cendres, invasions des Perses ou des Musulmans."

⁵⁹ BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, pp. 316-317; cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 172-173.

⁶⁰ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration* pp. 29-30; thus in Codex Grottaferrata-GB VII and Codex Leningrad 226.

⁶¹ BRIGHTMAN, *LEW*, pp. 313-314; MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 117.

⁶² The contention that *synapte* = prayer of the Trisagion is further strengthened by the Ms. of Kiev. DMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie* I, p. 152; MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 200, which clearly calls it *synapte* *synapte*.

⁶³ This occurs on twenty-one of the sixty-eight occasions.

synapte is always found when the Typikon provides a processional order, beginning with the entrance of the patriarch through the lateral door of the sanctuary of the Great Church.⁶⁴ On days when a procession did not take place the *synapte* was retained in the eucharist by being placed after the preparatory three-antiphon office and prayer of entrance. Its original function, however, was related to the stational character of the litany of Constantinople.

Thus, it is incorrect to argue that the *synapte*'s placement at the beginning of the eucharistic rite was a seventh-century novelty that replaced the old litany of the faithful.⁶⁵ Rather, its origins in connection with the eucharistic entrance rite reach back to the fifth century in the Trisagion in liturgical processions and the subsequent joining of the Trisagion itself to the eucharist in the sixth century. Therefore, the *synapte*'s position in the eucharistic liturgy can be directly attributed to the influence of the stational liturgy of Constantinople.

What, then, are the "usual prayers" mentioned often in the Typikon's order for the intermediate stational services? These prayers are mentioned in each order that omits reference to the great *ektenē* when an intermediate station is held. This accounts for some thirty intermediate stations in the Typikon, for example on June 2:

Memorial of St. Nicephorus, archbishop of Constantinople. His synaxis in at Holy Apostles; where his remains have been laid. At dawn the procession goes from the Great Church to the Forum (of Constantine) and after the usual prayers in that place, it proceeds to the aforementioned synaxis.⁶⁶

The Typikon does not provide enough evidence to determine precisely what these prayers were, but the fuller description of the stational liturgy at the Forum of Constantine on 1 September (Indiction) in the Ms. of Kiev does expand on what is meant in the Typikon by the "usual prayers." In the Ms. of Kiev, the "usual prayers" are called the "usual insistent demands." These demands are enumerated as three petitions: for the universal church, for the rulers, and for the protection of the city. Each demand is followed by the people's response, a triple *Kyrie eleison*, and a three-fold blessing by the patriarch.⁶⁷

In addition to the Ms. of Kiev, the processional order given in Paris B. N. Coislin 213 also has a fuller description of the "usual prayers" at the intermediate station in the Forum:

⁶⁴ Cf. Paris BN Coislin 213. DMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie* II, p. 1010.

⁶⁵ Thus, contra MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 123-124, who restricts the introduction of the *synapte* to some time before the eighth century.

⁶⁶ MATEOS, *Typikon* I, p. 302.

⁶⁷ MATEOS, *Typikon* II, p. 200; DMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie* I, p. 152.

When the procession has reached the Forum, or some other place... the cantors sing the *Gloria Patri*, the insistent litany is sung and the pontiff prays thus... At the *ekphosis* he blesses thrice... then he says, "Peace to all," and the deacon (says), "Let us incline our heads." The pontiff prays thus... (the prayer of inclination). Then the cantors begin the *troparion* again, and the procession gets under way.⁶¹

In the order of Coislin 213 the "usual prayers" consist of the diaconal *ektene* with the patriarch's concluding prayer and blessing prayer. When the stational procession includes an intermediate stational service at the Tribunal of the Hebdomon, Coislin 213 informs us that the patriarch himself leads the three insistent demands, that each demand is followed by a triple *Kyrie eleison*, and that a triple blessing concludes the order.

The *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus also sheds light on the meaning of the phrase "usual prayers" in its description of the stational service at the Forum on Easter Monday. Here the deacon proclaims the great *ektene* while the patriarch goes inside the oratory of Constantine at the base of the porphyry column.⁶² Finally, the Typikon itself is helpful on this matter for it gives two descriptions of the same processional order on 25 September. Where the first description mentions the "usual prayers," the second and fuller description call the same prayers the "great *ektene*."

One can conclude from all this that in the Typikon of the Great Church the phrase "usual prayers" always refers to some form of the *ektene*. However, at times this means only three petitions, at times it means the great *ektene*. Also, there are times when the "usual prayers" are intoned by the patriarch and other times when they are intoned by the deacon. One thing, however, is certain. Every liturgical procession at Constantinople contained some form of litanic supplication. When the procession did not stop for an intermediate stational service, this supplication consisted of the *synapte* alone. But when there was an intermediate service, both the *synapte* and some form of the *ektene* as well were employed from the time that the procession first got under way to the time that it arrived at the church where the stational eucharist was to be celebrated.

In summary, the usual liturgical procession involving an intermediate stational service at Constantinople in the tenth century followed this order:

⁶¹ The texts of the prayers are printed in the Grottaferrata Ms., pp. 639-640 in GOAR, *Euchologion*, DIMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie II*, § 1010.

⁶² VOGT, *Libre des cérémonies I*, p. 68; cf. also, MATTHOS, *Typikon II*, p. 98.

At the Great Church	Entrance of the patriarch (end of orthros) <i>Synapte</i> with concluding prayer "Peace" (deacon) Prayer of Inclination (blessing) Procession to "Third River" Litany and concl. prayer
Procession	Psalmody with antiphonal troparion
At the Forum	<i>Gloria Patri</i> , repetition of troparion and <i>perisse</i> <i>Ektene</i> (or Great <i>Ektene</i>) Prayer of Inclination
Procession to Stational Euch.	Psalmody with antiphonal troparion
Stational Euch.	<i>Gloria Patri</i> (etc.) Prayer of Entrance <i>Synapte</i> Trisagion (hymn of entrance)

In addition, a reading synaxis (with different readings than those employed at the stational eucharist) was inserted at the intermediate station on four days of the year. Somewhat more frequently the office of three antiphons took place between the end of the processional antiphon and the *ektene*. Also, the Trisagion may have served as the processional troparion on days when no specific antiphon was indicated by the Typikon.⁶³

And so, even in the reduced number of processions witnessed by the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church, the processional liturgy of Constantinople was a grandiose and elaborate affair and involved a complex use of the urban milieu. This stational liturgy reached the outskirts of the city and penetrated its colonnaded streets and public plazas in addition to using all of the city's major churches. Small wonder, then, that several aspects of this particular form of stational worship permanently affected the Byzantine Eucharist.

5. Summary

We are now in a position to synopsise the development of the Byzantine Eucharist in light of Constantinopolitan stational practice:

Fourth Century The eucharist began simply with the entrance of the bishop together with the people, the bishop's greeting, and then the readings. Whether all entered the church silently and where they were gathered beforehand are both unclear.

⁶³ MATTHOS, *Célébration*, p. 117; 376 Sept., 8 Nov., 25 Jan., 24 Feb., 21 May. Of course, it may be that the Typikon simply does not always give all of the processional troparia.

Fifth Century – The bishop and people still enter the church together. Processions are held through the colonnaded streets on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days prior to the eucharist. The processions included litanic prayer and antiphonal psalmody. The Trisagion was a popular troparion in the processional antiphonal psalmody.

Sixth Century – Bishop and people enter the church together. Processions are still very popular. The Trisagion becomes the usual entrance chant at the eucharist. In this century the Byzantine liturgy and court life at Constantinople are both further ceremonialized.

Seventh Century – People and clergy still enter the church together. Another psalm has been added before the Trisagion as entrance chant when there are processions. The litanic *synapte* and prayer of the Trisagion are performed before this psalm. Processions become less frequent.

Eighth Century – A special office of three antiphonal psalms, the third of which is an entrance psalm, is added to the beginning of the eucharist on days when there are no processions. On these days the people gather in the church before the entrance of the bishop. Popular liturgical processions have become less frequent. On days when the three antiphon office is used the *synapte* and prayer of the Trisagion take place after it.

There is, of course, a danger in a schematization such as this, for it might imply that the liturgical processions of Constantinople were strictly ordered affairs that progressed according to iron-bound rules. The very fact that such processions were participatory in nature argues against such a picture of them. On the other hand, the liturgical processions of the stationary liturgy of Constantinople had an enormous influence on the shape of the entrance rite of the Byzantine Eucharist.

We can conclude that the stationary liturgy of Constantinople manifested an intricate and complex relation between liturgical life and urban life, such that it would be inaccurate to speak of one without the other.

PART TWO

WORSHIP AND THE URBAN SETTING

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN AN URBAN SETTING

In Part One of this study we concentrated on the development of several stational worship systems in the late antique world. In this second part we turn to a consideration of the general phenomenon of stational liturgy. First we shall consider the similarities and differences among the stational worship systems of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. The second part of the chapter will analyze a special and important aspect of the stational liturgies, the liturgical procession. This analysis will yield important conclusions with regard to the relationship of the three urban liturgical systems. Finally, we shall discuss the effect that stational worship as a whole had on the medieval development of the eucharist in both the Roman and Byzantine Rites, as well as the effect of the stational phenomenon on the worship life of Western medieval cities.

A. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE STATIONAL LITURGIES

1. *Common Elements*

It should come ■ no surprise that there were common elements among the stational liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. Each of these liturgies developed in a late antique city, and all late antique cities were fundamentally similar in that they contained colonnaded streets, large public places, among them the forums, protective walls, and large civil and ecclesiastical basilicas. Each city was also surrounded by outlying areas that served as cemeteries and suburban retreats.

Moreover, by late antique standards, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople were all large cities. Their population, size, and ethnic diversity accounted for the need of ■ large number of churches and shrines to accommodate the burgeoning Christian community. Admittedly this is truer of Rome and Constantinople than of Jerusalem, but even Jerusalem had to provide for translation of the services and homilies into various languages because of foreign pilgrims.

Third, each of these cities was a *locus* of the shift from a pagan-dominated cultural world to a world where Christianity was the

predominant cultural religious expression.¹ Although this shift took place at a varying pace in each city, within about a hundred and fifty years after Constantine, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople had all experienced the basic transformation of cultural and religious values that Christianization brought with it.

A fourth common element in the three major urban systems of worship is more specifically related to religious considerations, for stationary liturgy as a whole manifested in a public way the strong desire for unity that Christian writers had demonstrated from the earliest days.² The practical result of this desire was the central position of the bishop as each city's liturgical leader,³ around whom the stationary liturgy was organized. The bishop was undoubtedly the mobile focus of urban worship life in all three cities investigated. Moreover, in each of the cities, the mobility of the bishop provided the possibility for the use of multiple centers of worship; each was the urban manifestation of worship on a given day.

A final element common to all three major stationary systems of worship was the very content of the Christian faith. Although we have noted important differences in the liturgical calendars of each city, we have also seen a basically similar liturgical year, emphasizing the major facets of Christian belief, namely Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection linked with initiatory practice, the Ascension of Christ, etc. The liturgical year thus provided a broad framework within which each city developed its own particular system of worship.

This consideration of the common elements in stationary worship requires emphasis on two important points. The first is that a dialectic existed in each of the three cities between the development of the liturgical calendar, similar in its broad lines, and the urban space in which this calendar became a living reality. The calendar did not develop in a vacuum or merely on the basis of the imperialization of Christianity, as Dix wrongly proposed.⁴ Rather, it was the nature of public life in the late antique cities as well as the official nature of the Christian cult after Constantine that was the condition of possibility for a more open and frequent celebration of Christian feasts and fasts. And it was the fuller calendar that in turn encouraged the construction of even more sites of worship.

The second emphasis expands on the notion of the Christianization of the late antique cities. Christians found themselves in a new social and

political situation after the Constantinian settlement.⁵ This new cultural situation required that they adapt their worship with a new, more public focus, since it was now Christianity that provided the conceptual framework (in terms of the sociology of knowledge, the common sense basis)⁶ for society as a whole. This factor in the development of stationary liturgies, which by their very nature were public urban events, cannot be underestimated. It was the public and open nature of the Christian church as the state religion that made it possible to manifest Christianity openly in an urban form of worship that took the whole city into account. It is with this factor in mind that one must view the struggle between Christian factions in Constantinople, especially at the end of the fourth century, as well as the establishment of urban Christian worship at Rome, which had to struggle with tenacious pagan opposition into the fifth century.⁷ It bears repeating that no Christian edifice of worship stood in the Forum, the old monumental center of Rome until two hundred years after the Constantinian settlement.

Therefore, the public nature of Christianity as the religion of the state, a fundamentally similar liturgical calendar, the church's desire for a publicly manifested unity, the size and diversity of each city, and the lay-out of the late antique city were all elements that resulted in a basic similarity to the three stationary systems of worship.

2. Differences

Despite the similarities discussed in the previous section, there were a number of significant contrasts in the stationary systems of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. These contrasts are attributable to the fact that each city had a different local history and topography. Local factors, therefore, were responsible for such different systems. We shall discuss several factors unique to each city's stationary development.

The major idiosyncratic aspect of the stationary system of Jerusalem was the city's possession of the holy places, sites that marked historical events in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and the founding of the Church. Thus, the multiplicity of churches and shrines in Jerusalem was due mainly to venerable sites rather than the size or diversity of the urban population.

¹ Cf. MacCormack, "Change and Continuity", pp. 751-752; also *Art and Ceremony*, pp. 1-14.

² For the categories of the sociology of knowledge, cf. P. BERGER and T. LUCKMANN, *The Social Construction of Reality*, and P. BERGER, *Sacred Canopy*. It should be evident that I accept the Berger-Luckmann approach as an accurate description of the social function of religion.

³ Cf. W. KAZÉGI, "Fifth-Century Twilight of Paganism", pp. 247-248; and J. GEFFCKEN, *Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, p. 162.

¹ Cf. H. BLOCK, "The Pagan Revival in the West in the end of the Fourth Century" in MUMIGLIANO, *Paganism and Christianity*, pp. 193-218; also, KRAUTHHEIMER, *Rome*, pp. 35-38.

² Cf., for example, CLEMENT OF ROME, *Epistle*, 38; IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Philadelphians*, Proem. 4:1; *Ephesians* 4:2; *Trallians* 12:2.

³ Cf., IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Ephesians* 4:1 *Magnesians* 6:1, *Trallians* 2:1, 3:2.

⁴ Dix, *Shape*, pp. 333-335.

The stational system of Jerusalem reflects the importance of the holy places by 1) their centrality in the daily services of prayer, 2) mobility in the daily prayer services from one holy spot to another in the Golgotha complex, 3) the use of Sion for the stational services on Wednesday and Friday, and 4) the historicized use of the holy sites during the octaves of Epiphany, Easter, and Enkainia as well as during the Great Week.

Further, we have seen that changes in the hagiopolite stational system reflect the historical fortunes of the city itself. The holy places became public monuments only after the Constantinian settlement.⁸ Even more churches, monasteries, and shrines were constructed from the end of the fourth century on because of aristocratic and imperial patronage. The frequency and scope of the stational liturgies at Jerusalem diminished after the Persian invasion of the early sixth century and especially after the Islamic conquest of 638.

With regard to Rome on the other hand, we have seen that stational practice originated in the size and variegated nature of the Christian community there at the end of the second century.⁹ The city's own holy sites, the martyrial shrines that ringed the city, later played a part in the stational organization, but these were far less central than the hagiopolite shrines. It was the concern for ecclesiastical unity that inspired mobile liturgy at Rome, as the frequent use of the old community centers of *tituli* for the stational eucharist shows.

Moreover, at Rome far more than at either Jerusalem or Constantinople dysphoric celebrations held a central place in the stational system, for the Roman stational liturgy was most active during Lent and the Ember seasons. The Roman system also integrated stational liturgy and initiatory practice, with many catechumenal celebrations being held at major stational services. This was true of Jerusalem as well. At Constantinople our sources are too late with regard to the classic era in Christian initiation for us to be able to tell whether any such integration existed, except at the Easter Vigil and on Lazarus Saturday.¹⁰

Another factor that was operative in the development of the Roman stational system was the geographical location of the Lateran basilica, at the southwestern edge of the city. Since the Lateran was an ecclesiastical center and not a shrine, it never attracted the popularity that the martyrial shrines, especially that of St. Peter, did. The fact that the major ecclesiastical center was so far from the monumental center of the city of Rome also accounts for the continued use of the *tituli* in the stational liturgy as well as the popularity of Rome's "Bethlehem", Santa Maria Maggiore.

⁸ Cf. KRAUTHMEIER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 61-66.

⁹ Cf. Chapter four, section A, 2.

¹⁰ Constantinople had a unique series of readings for the Easter Vigil, cf. BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 55-60.

Finally, the uniqueness of the Roman stational system was also evident in the development of the pre-Lenten season of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays. These arose, as we have seen,¹¹ during the troubled sixth century as a means of invoking the protection of the major urban patrons, Lawrence, Paul, and Peter, whose shrines surrounded the city walls.

The city of Constantinople had yet another unique stational system. There is no evidence, either literary or archaeological, that argues for an extensive Christian community in pre-Constantinian Byzantium. Therefore, there was no set of pre-existing *tituli*, transformed into basilican churches. Nor were there a number of preexisting sites, venerable either because of their relation to the life of Christ or that of his Church. On the other hand, Constantinople had a major Christian edifice located at the very heart of the city's monumental area: the Great Church or Hagia Sophia. The city also possessed another major shrine that upheld the imperial ideology in addition to being a center for the Christian cult: the Church of the Holy Apostles, founded, as we have seen, as a memorial to the Emperor Constantine himself.

Constantinople also had a highly developed cult to Mary, the Theotokos. This was only natural, since the city possessed few if any genuine martyrs' graves, and therefore it supplemented its cult with shrines built around rather spurious relics, such as the robe and cincture of the Virgin.

The stational liturgy of Constantinople was unique in three other ways. In the first place, soon after its foundation Constantinople became the imperial city.¹² Therefore, the stational liturgy of the city was also enhanced by the presence of the emperor and his court. Second, specific historical commemorations of earthquakes, fires, invasions, etc. rather than the temporal cycle loomed large in the organization of the city's stational and processional liturgy. In a manner far more obvious than at Jerusalem or Rome, the Constantinopolitan liturgy reflected historical occasions in the post-Constantinian life of the city.

The final factor that made the stational liturgy of Constantinople unique was most probably a result of the two foregoing aspects of the city's worship life. This final factor is the importance of public places, premier among them the Forum of Constantine, in the stational liturgy of the city. Two-thirds of the liturgical processions included an intermediate service at the Forum of Constantine. Thus, Christian worship at Constantinople was closely identified with the urban shrine *par excellence*, the porphyry column of Constantine, located in the middle of the city's most important forum. One can argue

¹¹ Cf. Chapter four, section B, 2.

¹² Cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 55-60.

with good reason, therefore, that the stationary worship of Constantinople had a spatial focus in both the Great Church and the Forum of Constantine.

Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople ■ show some basic similarities with regard to the phenomenon of stationary worship. At the same time it is important to recognize that the difference in their patterns of worship were inspired by the fact that Christians in all three places had to adapt their worship to a particular situation. Local circumstances, such as the nature of the pre-Constantinian Christian tradition, topography, and especially the historical fortunes of each city were all responsible for the peculiar shape that each stationary liturgy took. Worship does not develop in a vacuum, but rather in the dialectic between Christian faith and a particular social and cultural milieu.

B. PROCESSIONS IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

Processions were the most visible feature in the urban stationary systems of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. Given the outdoor nature of Mediterranean culture, the presence of processions and their popularity in the liturgy should come as no surprise. Each of the cities, however, adopted liturgical processions in a different way. This will provide some insight into the peculiar ethos of the urban worship systems.

1. Personage-centered Processions

Procession cannot be used as an univocal term, for the use of procession in liturgy took various forms. One such form was the personage-centered procession or *cortège*.¹³ Here the focus was not on participation of the faithful but rather on the progress of an important personage from one place to another, especially for a ceremony. Obvious examples of this in Christian worship were the progress of the bishop to the stationary church at Rome and the procession of the Byzantine emperor to the Great Church for the liturgy on certain days. In this type of procession there is a clear distinction between the limited number of participants and spectators.

In pre-Christian usage the closest parallels to the personage-centered procession were the *pompa triumphalis* and *pompa circensis* of Rome.¹⁴

¹³ I borrow the term *Person-bezogen* (personage-centered) from H. WEGMAN, "Procedere und Prozession", p. 29 and *cortège* from I. H. DALMAIS, "Note sur la sociologie des processions", pp. 37-39. It will become clear below that modifications need to be made in their typologies.

¹⁴ Cf. BÖMER, "Pompa", col. 1976ff.; also LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 297 for the triumph at Rome, and pp. 248-249 for the *pompa circensis*.

These processions originated in the republican period as a means of enhancing the popularity of certain consuls and generals. They became a frequently used form of imperial propaganda in the principate. The *pompa circensis* began on the Capitoline Hill and proceeded through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. The *pompa triumphalis* went in the opposite direction. It followed the Via Sacra through the Forum, up the Capitoline Hill to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Thus both types of Roman personage-centered procession took place in the very heart of the city's monumental center.

2. Participatory Processions

In contrast to the personage-centered processions there were many religious processions in the ancient Greek and Roman world that were mainly participatory in nature. The great religious festivals, or *panegyreis*, of ancient Greece included such processions. The *panegyreis*¹⁵ were an important part of Greek social life; they included assemblies, games, cultic sacrifices, and most of all popular processions. These festivals, such as the Panathenaiä, the Dionysia, and the Eleusinian mysteries, were oriented to the city-states.

In addition to the *panegyreis*, the Greeks also employed processions of an explicitly supplicatory nature. These popular processions encircled the cities, forming a magical ring of protection.¹⁶ In the Hellenic milieu the participatory procession flourished as an essential element in the urban ritual repertoire. The common Greek (then transliterated Latin) term for such processions was *pompe*.¹⁷ Since it had pagan connotations, the term was used pejoratively by Christian writers and finally came to be associated with the works of the devil.¹⁸ However, when Christians took over the position of the civil religion in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries they were hard pressed to avoid developing their own forms of public prayer apart from ancient pagan practice, even if they scorned the latter. The supplications of Christians, even as they attempted to transform the previous culture, were in continuity with it.¹⁹

¹⁵ Cf. M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II, p. 826, also his *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 97-101. Such processions were also manifestations of civic pride, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.

¹⁶ NILSSON, "Prozessionstypen", pp. 318-321.

¹⁷ Cf. BÖMER, "Pompa", col. 1984. Bömer defines the Greek *pompe* as "der festliche von der Polis oder einer Kultgemeinschaft ausgerichtete Zug mit oder zur Gottheit." (col. 1886)

¹⁸ Cf. BÖMER, "Pompa", cols. 1900-1901; PAX, "Bittprozession", p. 427, also KLAUCKER, "Fest", p. 763 on the pagan polemic against pagan feasts and processions.

¹⁹ This is the position of USENER, *Weltmachtsfest*, p. 302: "Es war eine innere Notwendigkeit, eine unwillkürliche und unausweichliche Verpflichtung für die Kirche, die, bekehrten Heiden die Segnungen, die er von seinem Gottesdienst zu erwarten gewöhnt war, in ähnlicher Weise und höherem Masse zu gewährleisten."

Therefore, it is ultimately to the Greek milieu that one looks for the origins of the Christian participatory procession. This does not mean that there was no connection with Roman processions. Although many Roman processions were personage-centered, as Greek processions do not seem to have been, there also existed at Rome a number of popular processions.²⁰

One such popular procession was mentioned by Livy. It took place in the year 207 B.C. and involved the procession of twenty-seven maidens through the city of Rome prior to a military campaign.²¹ Rome also had supplicatory processions on a yearly basis. One such was the Floralia, which took place from 28 April to 3 May. Another set of processions was organized by the Arval Brotherhood. It was called the Ambarvalia, and involved the *lustratio*, or purification of the fields outside the city on 27-30 May.²² The most familiar of the processions, since it later had Christian associations, was the Robigalia on 25 April, the same date as the Great Litany of the Roman Church. This procession left the city through the Flaminian Gate and went across the Milvian Bridge to a place six kilometers outside the city where propitiatory sacrifices were made to the god (or goddess) Robigo. The purpose of the procession and the sacrifices was to keep mildew off the crops. The participants walked barefoot, let their hair down, carried candles, and sang cultic songs along the way.²³ Such practices had both penitential and supplicatory overtones. Thus, the route, date, and manner of the Robigalia were essentially the same as the later Great Litany, mentioned first in the Roman sources for the sixth century.

In addition to these formal Roman participatory processions there were also *supplicationes*, days on which all of the urban temples would be left open so that the entire populace could visit them. The intention of such *feriae indictae*, as they were called, was the expiation of vows, or supplication for victory, or thanksgiving for an event beneficial to the city.²⁴ At the end of the Republic and during the early Principate the

²⁰ On the Roman importation of the Greek participatory processions in the second century B.C., cf. BAYET, *Histoire politique* pp. 153-156, also BÖMER, "Pompe", col. 1976.

²¹ LIVY 27:37:7: "Decrevit item pontifices ut virgines tres novenae per urbem cunctis carmen canerent", cf. also 31:12:9.

²² This practice had resonances in the Gallican three-day Rogation processions prior to the feast of the Ascension. The Roman church did not adopt these processions of *litaniae minores* until the beginning of the sixth century, cf. RICHETTI, *Manuale II*, p. 229.

²³ OVID, *Fastii* 4:981-986, also PAX, "Rittiprocession", p. 423.

²⁴ HALKIN, *Supplication*, p. 9 defines a *supplicatio* as "une cérémonie collective qui avait une caractère aussi politique que religieux et qui comportait généralement des prières, des libations et des sacrifices. Elle avait pour but soit d'apaiser le courroux des dieux, soit d'obtenir d'eux la préservation d'une calamité imminente, soit enfin de leur rendre des actions de grâces pour les faveurs qu'ils avaient accordées; selon le cas, en effet, la supplication pouvait se présenter sous une forme expiatoire, propitiatoire ou gratulatoire."

supplicatio gradually became associated with events like the birthday of a consul or emperor, and thus more personage centered.²⁵ These were never clearly organized processions, but rather allowed the people to tour the temples in any order they wished.²⁶ Therefore, at Rome, there were two types of procession: the participatory and the personage-centered.

The typology of personage-centered and participatory processions allows for an adequate differentiation of Christian processions. There were, of course, many processions that centered on the bishop or emperor in their progress to liturgical ceremonial. But these were not what we have called liturgical processions throughout this study. It was the participatory procession that Christians adapted most for the purposes of public worship.

We have argued that the liturgical procession, or *lita*, was very frequently employed in Constantinople from the end of the fourth century until the seventh or eighth century.²⁷ Such processions do not seem to have been used at Rome, at least on a regular, anniversary basis until the sixth century.²⁸ When one also considers the fact that Roman processions borrowed Greek terminology (*litania*, *Kyrie eleison*, *antiphona*), it is reasonable to contend that the Roman popular liturgical processions received their greatest influence from the East.²⁹ On the other hand, it seems that Constantinople adapted the more personage-centered processional practice of Rome, when the imperial court became part of the life of the city. Another reason for Rome's rather late importation of the popular procession may well have been the associations that such processions had with pagan practice at Rome. We note that Rome struggled with pagan opposition to Christianity into the fifth century and that pagan processions were still being employed publicly during the last decade of the fourth century.³⁰ At Rome the use of shrines and churches

²⁵ HALKIN, *Supplication*, pp. 112-113; FREYBURGER, "La supplication", pp. 1436-1437.

²⁶ HALKIN, *Supplication*, p. 103.

²⁷ Public Christian control of the city of Constantinople was by no means automatic with the city's foundation. For the argument that Constantine did not found Constantinople as a specifically Christian city, cf. PICARD, *L'empire chrétien*, p. 54; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 41-54.

²⁸ Cf. Chapter four, section C.

²⁹ This is not to argue that the influence came directly to Rome from Constantinople. Oriental liturgical practices were strong throughout the rest of the West. But we must repeat that Byzantine influence was particularly strong at Rome during the Justinianic re-conquest of the city in the sixth century.

³⁰ Cf. GEFCKEN, *Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, p. 162. There is another sense in which Christian seasonal practice was no novelty at Rome, for the Roman temples were special centers of worship on different days. Cf. STAMBOUGH, "The Functions of Roman Temples", pp. 557-581. Stambough describes the ambience of the Roman temples as follows: "All these functions produce an impression of people streaming to, around, and from temples, finding them indispensable in the conduct of their business and their conduct of intellectual life. Beyond that, shady porticoes, the steps and benches for strolling and sitting.

for worship was one thing, while public processions in a hostile atmosphere were another.

3. Christian Processions: Supplicatory and Mimetic

All Christian participatory processions were not the same, however. It seems best to make one further subdivision of processions as they were employed by Christians at Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. On the one hand, there were processions whose main aim was to beg for God's mercy. At Rome and Constantinople such supplicatory processions were by far in the majority, for they included the Great Litany and *colleeta* processions at Rome as well as the numerous commemorative processions of Constantinople. But there were also processions that were historical repetitions of a famed action, such as the Palm Sunday processions in all three cities, the Good Friday procession at Jerusalem and Rome, and the mimetic processions of the hagiopolite stational system.

Therefore the previous processional typologies of Dalmais and Wegman are somewhat misleading. Dalmais, who divides processions among cortege, parade, and procession, fails to see the essential similarity of the participatory processions.³¹ Wegman makes the same error in dividing processions among those which are *Personbezogen, Festzentriert*, and *Bitzprozessionen*.³² The main division of the processions is between those which honor a special individual (personage-centered) and those which involve the participation of the faithful (participatory). Supplicatory and mimetic processions are sub-divisions of the latter.

Finally, it is important to note that the liturgical processions of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople served a double function. The first was to express the piety of the people by means of a very public form of prayer. The second function, which should not be discounted, was to manifest publicly the fact that the Christian faith was the religion which expressed the common-sense faith of the city's populace. In other words, processions were a means of both prayer and propaganda.

C. STATIONAL LITURGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUCHARIST

Having discussed the similarities and differences as well as the nature of processions in the three urban stational liturgies, we shall now turn to the impact that these liturgies had on the subsequent development of the

the constantly changing scene, the prospect of seeing a procession or sacrifice, made the temples some of the most attractive places for lounging and loafing in the city." (p. 587).

³¹ DALMAIS, "Note sur la sociologie des processions", pp. 37-42.

³² WEGMAN, "'Procedere' und Prozession", p. 28. Wegman's error lies in considering that the Roman and Constantinopolitan liturgical processions both had their origins in the mimetic processions of Jerusalem rather than in the wider context of late antique social life.

major eucharistic rites, with attention to the calendar, readings, and rites of entrance. Finally, we shall discuss the general inheritance of the Roman stational system.

1. Calendar

Most feasts and commemorations in the liturgical calendar originated for specific reasons in local churches. But the celebrations of such feasts and commemorations in the major stational liturgies also had a significant effect on the later development of the general Roman and Byzantine calendars.

Here the influence of Jerusalem is abundantly clear. The Palm Sunday procession, the adoration of the Wood of the Cross on Good Friday, the celebration of the Ascension outside the city walls, and the Feast of the Dedication of the Golgotha Martyrium on 13 September (coincidental with the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus on the Capitoline Hill)³³ were all imported into subsequent calendars at Rome and Constantinople, and thence to the general calendars of those rites. The dedication of Justinian's Nea Ekklesia on 21 November became the widespread eastern feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos, accepted in the West only in the fourteenth century.³⁴ The influence of Jerusalem can also be demonstrated in a negative way in that since the Armenian Church adopted its calendar at the time when Jerusalem did not celebrate the birth of Christ on 25 December, the Armenian calendar's lack of a 25 December Christmas is directly attributable to Jerusalem influence.

Except for the establishment of the date of Christmas on 25 December in accord with the old Roman celebration of the *Natalis Solis Invicti*,³⁵ Roman stational influence on the calendar seems mainly to have been exercised in the West. The commemorations of native Roman martyrs spread to other western churches. The date of the Great Litany was fixed at 25 April, based on the Roman Church's adoption of the date of the Robigalia. A further example of local Roman influence on western calendars is general in the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilica of St. Michael the Archangel, which is given on 30 September in the Verona Sacramentary and on 29 September (the date that was adopted) in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries.³⁶ Finally, it was the Roman celebration of the Cathedra of Peter on 22 February (following the pagan feast of the *cara cognitio* or remembrance of the dead) that was responsible for the widespread feast of St. Peter's Chair at Antioch.³⁷

³³ Cf. STAMBOUGH, "The Functions of Roman Temples", p. 558.

³⁴ Cf. RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 302.

³⁵ For a recent assessment of the several hypotheses with regard to the origin of Christmas, see TALLEY, "Liturgical Time," pp. 39-43.

³⁶ Cf. RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, p. 332.

³⁷ Cf. RIGHETTI, *Manuale* II, pp. 354-355.

Urban liturgical celebrations, which were originally celebrated only at Constantinople, were later adopted in the more general Byzantine Rite. Medieval Melkite calendars show a great affinity to such local Constantinopolitan celebrations.³⁸ But even the later development of the Byzantine calendar retained a number of feasts and commemorations that had been peculiar to Constantinople. The modern Byzantine calendar has six feasts that relate directly to the urban stationary liturgy of the New Rome. These are:

1 September	Indiction
26 October	The Great Earthquake
27 January	Transfer of the Relics of Chrysostom
11 May	Dedication of the city
2 July	Deposition of The Virgin's Veil at Blachernae
31 August	Deposition of the Virgin's Cincture at Chalkoprateia

Besides these feasts one can add all of the feasts which commemorate the great ecumenical councils and the Feast of Orthodoxy,³⁹ which commemorates the victory of the Orthodox over the Iconoclasts.

Therefore, the specifically urban context of stationary liturgy at Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople significantly affected the development of subsequent general calendars in both East and West.

2. Readings

The stationary liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople also influenced on the choice of lectionary readings in later and wider usages. The clearest example of this influence is the wholesale adoption of the Jerusalem calendar of the early fifth century, together with lessons from the liturgical celebrations, by the Armenian and Georgian churches.

The Roman system of readings, which, as we have seen, was closely related to the various stationary churches, also had a significant impact of the liturgical readings of the western churches. Eventually the *Missale romanum* adopted the course of liturgical readings that had been peculiar to Rome. In fact, up to the revision of the Roman lectionary in 1969, many of the Lenten readings could be explained only by reference to the Roman stationary church appointed for a particular day.

When we come to Constantinople, however, we find that the lectionary readings were more closely associated with a *lectio continua* system than with specifically urban-related celebrations.⁴⁰ Here the liturgy of Constantinople seems to have relied heavily upon the lectionary systems

of both Jerusalem and Antioch. One example of specifically Constantinopolitan influence can be seen, however, in the choice of readings for the Great Vigil of Easter.

Two of our stationary liturgies, therefore, those of Jerusalem and Rome, had an important impact on the choice of lectionary readings in subsequent rites.

3. The Entrance Rite of the Eucharist

Perhaps the most striking influence of the stationary liturgies celebrated at Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople can be discerned in the development of the structure of the entrance rite of the eucharist. The entrance rite was among the three parts of the eucharistic celebration involving action, which were expanded in the post-Nicene period. The other two liturgical units were the presentation of the gifts and the communion/dismissal.⁴¹ Our focus here is the entrance rite, for its expansion with psalmody and litanic prayer was directly related to the changed circumstances of worship, reflected most clearly in the stationary liturgies.

We have already seen that hymns, psalms, and antiphons played an important part in the bagiopolite processions described by Egeria in the late fourth century. The relationship between psalmody in these liturgical processions and the entrance to the eucharist is not altogether clear. However, we do know that the Georgian Lectionary assigned an entrance psalm for every eucharistic celebration. Thus, at least by the early seventh century, there was an entrance psalm in the Jerusalem eucharist. The connections here are not clear, for Egeria states only that the faithful gathered in the Martyrium on Sunday mornings.⁴² This took place at daybreak after the monastic vigil, which had followed the cathedral vigil. Therefore it seems that there was no formal entrance of the people into the church together with the bishop.

In Rome, on the other hand, we have clear evidence for the use of antiphonal psalmody at the eucharistic entrance rite from the early fifth century. This does not prove that there was no entrance psalm prior to the fifth century; Celestine may well have merely systematized what had previously been done.

The antiphony shows that a number of the entrance psalms were related to the stationary church where they were sung. One example of this is the use of the antiphon "Lactare Jerusalem" on the fourth Sunday in Lent, when the station was at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.⁴³

³⁸ Cf. SAUGET, *Synaxaires melkites*, pp. 117 ff.

³⁹ Cf. ARRANZ, "Les fêtes théologiques du calendrier byzantin", pp. 29-56.

⁴⁰ Cf. GY, "Système des lectures", pp. 251-261.

⁴¹ Cf. TAFT, "How Liturgies Grow", p. 257. Taft calls these the "soft-points" of liturgical development as opposed to the original core of readings and eucharistic prayer.

⁴² *Itin. Eg.*, 25:1.

⁴³ HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, § 202.

There is no indication that the introit of the Roman stationaral eucharist was accompanied by a participatory procession. Even on days when there were popular supplicatory processions the people entered the church before the bishop, and the entrance psalm was sung as he entered, but only after he changed his vestments. The more usual procedure, reflected in *Ordo Romanus I*, was to have the people gather at the stationaral church beforehand and await the personage-centered procession of the bishop. Therefore, the use of a psalm in the entrance rite of the Roman eucharist was related to the practice of stationaral liturgy but not directly to the stationaral processions.

The liturgy of Constantinople, however, gives a different picture of the development of the entrance rite. This development is more closely allied to the employment of popular processions. Up to the eighth century the people and the bishop entered the church together. This entrance came at the end of a stationaral procession, which took place on Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts. This was the way in which the Trisagion, along with the psalm it served as antiphon, became a part of the entrance rite of the Byzantine Eucharist. We have also seen that the relation between the liturgical processions of Constantinople and the eucharist was probably responsible for the introduction of an office of three antiphons, even on nonstationaral days. Psalmody in the Byzantine Eucharist was therefore directly related to participatory stationaral processions. It was only with the introduction of eucharistic celebrations which were not preceded by processions in the eighth century that this close relation between procession, entrance psalmody and the eucharist was obscured.

A more complex feature of the relation between stationaral liturgy and the eucharistic entrance rite is the use of litanic prayer. By litanic prayer we mean short petitions of a supplicatory nature which are completed by a popular response, such as *Kyrie eleison*. The presence of such litanic prayer is clear in the eastern liturgies of the fourth century. Egeria reports that intercessions with *Kyrie eleison* as response were sung at the end of the daily *Lucernare* in Jerusalem.⁴⁴ The same form of prayer is present in the prayers of the faithful in Book Eight of the Antiochene Apostolic Constitutions.⁴⁵

The origins of the use of the phrase, *Kyrie eleison*, are, however, pre-Christian. The phrase itself was used in pagan worship and was adopted by the imperial cultus, in which the emperor was called *Kyrios*.⁴⁶ The use of the short response, *Kyrie eleison* in Christian prayer is illuminated by reference to the older structure of the prayers of the faithful, which completed the reading synaxis at the eucharist. This so-called *orationes sollemnes* form included:

⁴⁴ *Itin. Eg.*, 24:5.

⁴⁵ *Apostolic Constitutions* 8: 6-10.

⁴⁶ Cf. DÖLGER, *Salvator*, pp. 77-82.

diaconal petition
silent prayer by all
concluding prayer by the bishop

In the litanic style the vacuum of silent prayer was filled in by the people's response and the celebrant's prayer took place only after all of the petitions had been voiced.⁴⁷ This form of supplicatory prayer, which included frequent popular response, was certainly better suited to large congregations than the more stately *orationes sollemnes*. Thus, one can easily see how litanic prayer became a part of the prayers of the faithful.

What is not so obvious is how this form of litanic prayer came to be used in the entrance rite of the various eucharists. For the answer to this question we must look once again to the stationaral character of worship in Rome and Constantinople. The use of the Kyrie in the Roman eucharist is the heart of the question. The problem of this Roman Kyrie has several aspects, namely: what is the relation between the Kyrie and the *orationes sollemnes*? why is it located at the entrance rite of the eucharist? if it was originally part of a litany, what happened to the petitions? and finally, where did this Greek phrase come from?

In order to arrive at answers to these questions, a brief summary of the twentieth-century reflection on the Kyrie is necessary. In the first place it was Edmund Bishop who first noticed the relation between the Kyrie and *Orationes sollemnes*, pointing out that the Kyrie was employed in litanies and therefore that the use of the Kyrie in the Roman mass had a litanic origin, probably in imitation of oriental processions.⁴⁸ Later, it was Bernard Capelle who argued that this litany was none other than the *Deprecatio Gelasii*, itself very similar in content to the Greek *synapte*.⁴⁹ Moreover, he contended that this was the litany that Gelasius himself added to the beginning of the Roman mass, with the result that the *orationes sollemnes* were dropped. Finally, he argued that Gregory the Great was responsible for a shortening of this procedure on ordinary days, so that only the *Kyrie eleison* and the *Christe eleison* (the latter was an innovation of Gregory) was left. The Capelle thesis was later nuanced by Antoine Chavasse, who argued that Gelasius added the *Deprecatio Gelasii* in the original place of the *orationes sollemnes*, that is, before the presentation of the gifts, and that this is the reason for the second collect of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which acted in a manner similar to the Milanese *oratio super sindonem*.⁵⁰ It was only later, perhaps a century later

⁴⁷ TAFT, "Structural Analysis", pp. 319-321.

⁴⁸ BISHOP, "Kyrie Eleison", in *LH*, pp. 116-136.

⁴⁹ CAPELLE, "L'œuvre liturgique de s. Gélase", *TL* II, pp. 146-160; also his "Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine", *TL* II, pp. 135-145.

⁵⁰ CHAVASSE, "L'oraison 'super sindonem' dans la liturgie romaine", pp. 313-323.

under Gregory the Great, that this litany was transferred to the beginning of the eucharist, leaving behind, as it were, the *oratio super sindonem*.

Recently these conclusions have been reviewed by Paul De Clerck in a thorough and patient analysis of the prayer of the faithful in the West.⁵¹ Before presenting his analysis, however, it will be helpful to provide the two texts which are crucial to the Western use of the Kyrie: The first is the third canon of the Synod of Vaison (Gaul, 529):

Et quia tam in sede apostolica, quam etiam per totas Orientales adque Italiae provincias dulces et nimium solubres consuetudo est intromissa, ut Quirieleison frequentius cum grandi affectu et computatione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinos et ad missas et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromitteretur. Et in omnibus missis seu in matutinis seu in quadragesimalibus seu in illis pro defunctorum commemorationibus fiunt, semper: Sanctus. Sanctus eo ordine, quomodo ad missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat, quia tam sancta, tam dulcis et desiderabilis vox, etiam si die noctuque possit dici, fastidium non poterit generare.⁵²

The second text is from a letter of Gregory the Great to the Bishop John of Syracuse in 598:

Veniens quidam de Sicilia mihi dixit quod aliqui amici ejus, vel Graeci vel Latini, Nescio, quasi sub zelo sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de meis dispositionibus murmurarent, dicentes: Quomodo Ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam disponit comprimere, qui ejus consuetudinem per omnia sequitur? Cui cum dicerem: Quas consuetudines ejus sequimur? Respondit: Quia... Kyrie eleison... dici Kyrie eleison autem nos neque diximus, neque dicimus sicut a Graecis dicitur, quia in Graecis omnes simul dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur, a populo respondetur et totidem vicibus etiam Christe eleison dicitur, quod apud Graecos nullo modo dicitur. In cotidianis autem missis alia quae dici solent tacemus, tantum modo kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.⁵³

⁵¹ DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle*, pp. 282-295.

⁵² MANI 8327. I translate this passage as follows.

⁵³ "Since the sweet and salutary custom of singing Kyrie eleison frequently and with great feeling has been introduced in the Apostolic See as well as throughout the Orient and the province of Italy, it is also our pleasure that this holy custom be introduced in all our churches at matins, mass, and vespers. And in addition, it will not cause aversion to sing the 'Holy, Holy, Holy' (a holy, sweet, and desirable sound both by day and by night) at all masses whether in the morning, or during Lent, or in those masses which are performed for the commemoration of the dead in the same manner as is done at public masses."

⁵⁴ HARTMANN, ed., *MGH. Epp. 2. GREGORY THE GREAT, Ep. 9:26*.

⁵⁵ "Someone coming from Sicily has told me that some friend, whether Greek or Latin I do not know, but having great zeal for the Holy Roman Church, has grumbled about my changes, saying: 'Why do you wish to amalgamate with the Church of Constantinople by

De Clerck has argued, mainly on the basis of these two texts and his analysis of the various forms of the prayer of the faithful, that both Capelle and Chavasse were mistaken on their interpretation of the manner in which the Kyrie eleison became part of the entrance rite of the Roman eucharist. In the first place, he has found that the original response to the petitions of the *Deprecatio Gelasii* was not the Greek Kyrie eleison but rather the Latin *Domine exaudi et miserere*. Second, the Kyrie eleison first appeared in the West in the text of the Milanese *Litania divinae pacis*. It is repeated three times as a distinct chant at the end of the Milanese litany.

Furthermore, De Clerck notes that the third canon of the Synod of Vaison says nothing about the introduction of a litany, but only of the Kyrie at matins, mass, and vespers. Also, Gregory's defense of the Roman use of the Kyrie does not necessarily imply that the kyries which were chanted were responses to the petitions of a litany. They may have been the equivalent of the thrice-chanted kyries of the Milanese *Litania divinae pacis*.⁵⁴ De Clerck concludes that the Kyrie was introduced not so much to replace the *orationes Sollemnes* as to provide a piece of independent chant that was left over from the popular use of litanies in procession in the Roman church.⁵⁵ He claims that this practice was introduced into the Roman liturgy during the sixth century. This is the same period that we have assigned as the beginning of regular Roman processions. The only problem for which he has not found a solution in this matter is the reason for the Kyrie being placed after the entrance psalm (introit) rather than before it.

In its main lines, the De Clerck thesis is correct. The introduction of the Kyrie into the beginning of the Roman mass was due to the popularity of the stationary processions. It is reasonable to argue that this Kyrie was the three-fold Kyrie eleison, which appeared in the Milanese form of the *deprecatio*, and not the response to the petitions. Gregory was probably referring to the fact that the entire litanic part of the supplication was dropped on ordinary days in favor of the three-fold Kyrie.

following its customs in all things? But to him, I say: 'Which of its customs do we follow?' They respond: 'Because the Kyrie eleison is sung.'

But we have not nor do we sing the Kyrie eleison as the Greeks do, for among the Greeks all sing it at the same time, whereas among us the clergy sing it and the people respond. We all sing 'Christe eleison' as many times (as Kyrie eleison); and the Greeks do not. Finally, in daily masses we omit the other things which are usually sung, and sing only Kyrie and Christe eleison, so that we might spend a little more time in this prayer of supplication."

⁵⁴ DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle*, pp. 290-291.

⁵⁵ DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle*, p. 292: "Nous pensons que parmi les causes de la suppression de la prière universelle, il faut ranger également le développement des litanies; leur caractère populaire a rencontré les aspirations de la piété, leur succès a provoqué leur multiplication; une litanie s'instaura de plus en plus souvent avant la messe." Cf. also pp. 294-295.

However, there are three loose ends in De Clerck's presentation of his case. The first has to do with the relation of the Kyrie to the *Sancus* of the Synod of Vaison's canon. The second deals with the form of the litany which was sung in the Roman processions. The third is the problem for which he admits he has no answer, namely, why did the Kyrie follow the entrance psalm if it had originally been appended to the litany which ended the stational procession? The solution of all three problems lies, I believe, in the use of litanies in the stational processions of Constantinople.

The following conclusions that we have reached with regard to the stational processions at Constantinople are relevant to the argument here: a) such processions were most popular and frequent from the end of the fourth century up until at least the seventh century, b) essential elements in these processions were the use of antiphonal psalmody and litanic prayer, c) the *synapte*, a form of the litany originally been associated with the prayer of the faithful, was closely connected to the singing of the Trisagion as a processional antiphon and then as an entrance antiphon, and d) two forms of the litany were used at Constantinople: the *synapte* and a form that was indigenous to the stational processions, the *ektenie*, which ended with a three-fold Kyrie eleison.

First, then, with regard to the relation between the Kyrie and the three-fold *Sancus* at the Synod of Vaison. This *Sancus* is not the angelic hymn of the eucharistic prayer but the Trisagion. We know that it was used as an entrance chant in the Gallican Eucharist. The close connection between the introduction of the Kyrie and the Synod of Vaison suggests that a Western form of the *synapte* is meant to be included in the Gallican Eucharist. This is probably not a direct imitation of the way in which the Kyrie was employed in the Roman liturgy, since the latter did not regularly include the Trisagion, and never used it as an entrance chant. The legislation of the Synod of Vaison is, therefore, directly influenced by the stational practice of Constantinople.

The second question deals with identifying the form of the litany which was sung in the Roman stational processions. This litany must have been the *ektenie* and not the *synapte*, because what Rome finally adopted was the three kyries which came at the end of the *litania divinae pacis* and not the responses of the *Deprecatio Gelasii*. The latter had the form of a *synapte*, for its petitions were directed to the prayer of the people: "let us pray to the Lord." The Milanese litany, on the other hand, had petitions in the *ektenie* form, which were directed to God: "we pray you". Therefore, what the Roman liturgy adopted when it added the Kyrie to the entrance rite was not a form of the prayer of the faithful that had originally stood in place of the old *orationes solennes*, but rather a rogational litany that had been employed in the stational processions of Constantinople, perhaps via

Milan. Therefore, it is clear that the Roman Kyrie is the direct descendent of Constantinopolitan stational practice.⁵⁶

The third problem is why the Kyrie came after the processional chant when it originally had been the end of the stational procession. It is true that at both Constantinople and Rome the early entrance rite of the eucharist seems to have concluded with an antiphonal psalm rather than a litany. But we also note that in both stational liturgies the litany of the procession was sung after antiphonal psalmody. The *synapte* was sung during the Prayer of the Trisagion at Constantinople, and a litany was sung at the end of the stational procession at Rome. In the latter case there was no Kyrie sung during the entrance rite at the eucharist. It seems that placing the Kyrie after the introit psalm at Rome was an imitation of the stational practice of having the litany follow the antiphonal psalmody. At Constantinople a psalm with the Trisagion as troparion followed the litany at the end of the stational procession. At Rome, on the other hand, where stational processions were infrequent at least up until the late eighth century, only one psalm of entrance was sung and this was followed by the Kyrie and *ektenie* type litany. But from the end of the sixth century the litany itself was dropped on ordinary days and only the three-fold (or nine-fold) Kyrie remained.

Thus we have seen that not only did the practice and organization of stational liturgy affect the development of the eucharistic rites, but also that the processional emphasis of the stational liturgy at Constantinople had lasting effects on the development of the entrance rite of the Roman mass.

4. Influences Between Stational Liturgies

The influence of the Constantinopolitan processional liturgy on the development of Roman stational practice introduces the important question of influence: Was stational liturgy a spontaneous development in the late antique urban centers or did the stational system of one city influence the creation of similar systems in other cities? We have seen throughout the previous chapters that the major motivation for the development of stational practice at both Rome and Constantinople was not an attempt to imitate the practice of Jerusalem, but rather the result of factors common to cities of the late antique world. The most important of these factors was the size and variegation of the Christian communities in

⁵⁶ DUCHESNE, *Christian Worship*, p. 174; EISENHOFER, *Handbuch* II, pp. 87-88; JUNGEMANN, *MRE* I, pp. 164 ff.; BISHOP, "Kyrie Eleison", p. 124. All have come to the conclusion that the Kyrie was inspired by Greek litanies. The issue here, however, has been to show it was the employment of litanies in stational processions which ultimately affected Roman usage.

these cities. A second motive for stational worship was the necessity of manifesting the unity of the Christian Church in face of such numbers and variety. A third motive was the public nature of the Christian church after the Constantinian settlement of the early fourth century. In each of the major urban centers, therefore, Christians gathered around their bishop or his representative at various churches or shrines on specified days as the natural outcome of the very nature of the Church in an urban milieu. On the level of origins, then, we can say that no one stational system influenced any of the others.

But we have also seen that in terms of some of their particulars the major stational systems did influence one another. Since Jerusalem was the site of the birth of the Christian faith and the major events related to it, it naturally served as a model for a number of sites in both Rome and Constantinople: the monastery called Jerusalem and extra-urban Elaiia in the latter, and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Another influence of Jerusalem can be seen in the adoption of what was originally a Jewish practice: celebrating major feasts with an octave.

Rome influenced the stational practice of Constantinople mainly through the adoption of the *cortège* by the imperial court. Conversely Constantinople seems to have influenced Rome by means of the participatory nature of its liturgical processions. Moreover, one cannot deny that the late antique world of the Mediterranean basin knew a great deal of cultural interchange. Nonetheless, each of the major cities independently developed a stational system of worship, and imitative factors are minor when compared with the common motives in the development of each system of mobile worship.

In addition, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople were not the only late antique cities that developed stational systems of worship. Every large urban center of late antiquity possessed a liturgical system that was both mobile and centered around the bishop of the city.⁵⁷ Such a system was as characteristic of fourth century Antioch, fifth century Tours, and sixth century Oxyrrynchus in Egypt⁵⁸ as it was of the three major centers that have been the object of this study. Moreover, in the early middle ages most

⁵⁷ The phenomenon of mobility in worship cannot be limited in principle to the larger urban centers. These developed the most notable stational systems, but even a village large enough to have more than one place of worship might easily adapt a pattern of worship that was mobile. Even today one finds a multiplicity of chapels in small European villages that support only one congregation. Such small chapels are still used as "stations" in processions on particular feasts, or for the eucharist itself on special days.

⁵⁸ For Antioch, cf. VAN DE PAVERT, *Messliturgie*, p. 14; also BAUMSTARK, "Kirchenjahr", III, 50 ff.

For Tours, cf. GREGORY OF TOURS, *Historia Francorum* 10:34 (MGH SS. *Rerum Merovingicarum* I, p. 445.)

For Oxyrrynchus, cf. DELEHAYE, "Calendrier d'Oxyrrynchos", pp. 83-94.

European towns for which we have data celebrated a series of stational liturgies in the course of a year.⁵⁹

Many of these urban stational liturgies had origins as spontaneous as those of the three major centers. This was due to the very nature of the Christian faith and cult we have adduced above. However, a number of the stational liturgies of northern Europe witness a great deal of external influence in the arrangement and organization of their systems. C. Heitz has shown that some of this external influence can be attributed to the symbolic power of the liturgy of Jerusalem, for the so-called porch churches of the Carolingian period are based on the Jerusalem Golgotha complex.⁶⁰ In the high middle ages such hagiopolite influence is even clearer as an attempt to create other Jerusalems, for example in Bologna.⁶¹

It would be a mistake, however, to turn all of one's attention on this question to Jerusalem's influence in the medieval West, for by far the greater influence was exercised by THE City of Western Europe, Rome. A. Häussling's study of the origins of the private mass has shown that imitating the city of Rome was strategically more important for the worship life of the medieval European towns than the tactical assimilation of various liturgical elements like chant, texts, or ceremonial.⁶² An illustrative example of this kind of imitation is eighth-century Metz, which adopted the Roman calendrical organization with its arrangement of the post-Pentecost Sundays, addition of stations on the Thursdays in Lent, and the aliturgical second Sunday and fifth Saturday in Lent.⁶³ As the Gallican liturgies native to the Frankish territories began to fall into disuse in the seventh and eighth centuries, the influence of Rome gained in importance.⁶⁴ The towns, then, attempted not only to adopt aspects of

⁵⁹ HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskönvent und Eucharistiefeier*, p. 198 lists thirteen towns: Tours, Metz, Cologne, Trier, Mainz, Strasbourg, Chur, Augsburg, Paris, Autun, Angers, Verona, and Pavia. Cf. also BERTIERE, "Stations liturgiques", pp. 213-248, DORN, "Stationsgottesdienste", III, 43-55; BORELLA, "Le stazioni ambrosiane", pp. 36-43.

⁶⁰ HEITZ, *Rapports entre architecture et liturgie*, pp. 88-90, 166-167, 244. There is some imitation of the Jerusalem shrines in the Abbey Church of St. Riquier at Centula. Heitz unfortunately neglects the influence of Rome in Carolingian architecture, cf. HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskönvent und Eucharistiefeier*, p. 344.

⁶¹ For later evidence in copying the arrangement of hagiopolite shrines, cf. OUSTERHOUT, "The Church of St. Stefano"; also the pilgrim accounts in WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*.

⁶² HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskönvent und Eucharistiefeier*, pp. 181-182: "Die römische Kirche lebt als eine Stadtkirche, und Nachahmung der römischen Liturgie im ganzen Mass für die Franken nicht nur die Assimilierung der Elemente der liturgischen Einzelleistungen, sondern noch viel grundlegender die Auseinandersetzung mit den besonderen Bedingungen der (römischen) Stadtliturgie überhaupt."

⁶³ KLAUSER, "Stationarität", pp. 23, 29-30, 35, 41; cf. also ZERFAS, "Fortleben", pp. 226-229.

⁶⁴ Cf. VOGEL, "Échanges", pp. 185-295; also CATTANEO, *Il culto cristiano in Occidente*, pp. 184-219.

Roman worship but to imitate the Roman milieu itself, whose ideal form of liturgy was stationar.

The same process, Häussling argues, held true for the medieval monasteries. These were in a sense miniature Romes, and they endeavored to celebrate the Roman liturgy, even down to copying the stationar practice.⁶⁵ Thus, multiple altars were constructed within monastic complexes and even within the monastic churches. These multiple altars provided the possibility of celebrating a number of masses at the same time, inspiring the development of the private mass, which was related to the conventual mass as other urban eucharistic celebrations were related to the stationar liturgy on any particular day.⁶⁶ This is surely an ironic twist, for what had originally been meant to provide for the unity of the eucharist in the large urban context was transformed into a needless multiplicity of celebrations when translated into the monastic context. Essentially the same process of creating a *civitas* in a much smaller space can be seen in the late medieval *Processionale* of the cathedral church at Salisbury, which celebrated a number of stations in a particular procession within the enclosure of the cathedral grounds.⁶⁷

Rome, then, had an enormous influence on later western liturgical practice, not only in the adoption of individual factors in the Roman liturgy, but also in the attempt to imitate the Roman liturgy wholesale by imitating the very city in which this liturgy took place.

CONCLUSION

It was precisely the urban context which gave a particular shape to the liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. The similarities in these cities made it likely that they would develop mobile systems of worship. At the same time, their unique histories and topographies made each of the mobile or stationar systems different in form and emphasis.

⁶⁵ HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskloster und Eucharistiefeier*, p. 315: "...das Kloster ist eine Stadtbreviatur, auch in seiner Liturgie. Es ist sogar ein 'Rom' und hat alle Voraussetzungen 'römische' Liturgie zu feiern, also die nach dem Zeitverständnis authentische Liturgie schlechthin."

⁶⁶ This is the thesis of HÄUSSLING's, *Mönchskloster und Eucharistiefeier*, pp. 315-322. He argues against the thesis of NUSSBAUM, *Priester und Privatmesse*. Nussbaum had tried to prove that the private mass was the direct development of monastic personal piety.

⁶⁷ Cf. BAILEY, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, pp. 12-26, 98-106. Bailey misconstrues, however, the origins of the intra-cathedral processions by focussing on the procession or rather cortege of the Roman bishop to a stationar church rather than the nature of liturgical processions in the stationar liturgy. Any adequate discussion of the late medieval processional practices would have to take into account the stationar phenomenon as a whole.

An extremely important part of the stationar system of worship was the liturgical procession, which we have seen was inherited from the pagan past. This form of procession enabled not only the participation of many people and an expression of their piety, but also the expression of the religious faith of Christians as the "common-sense" foundation of the life of the city.

Moreover, the stationar liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople had a significant impact on further developments in the liturgy. They affected the liturgical calendar, the choice of readings, the shape of the eucharistic entrance rite, and perhaps most important, the whole model on which other cities and towns and subsequent liturgies took as their own. Thus the city proves a fruitful context within which to attempt an understanding of the development of Christian worship.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THE CITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

The previous chapters of this study have been an attempt to survey and evaluate the development of three major liturgical systems within their urban contexts. They rest on a fundamental theological conviction about liturgy: liturgy is not simply and immediately God-given, revelation itself, but rather part of the human grace-prompted response to revelation. Any theology which exclusively emphasizes the activity of God in worship through the proclamation of the Word neglects the manifestation of God through liturgical activity in itself as well as the important human cultural factor involved in all worshipping experience.¹ When the human response factor is minimized, the forms that worship takes will be *adiaphora*, relatively unimportant. However, if the human response to divinely communicated grace is important, then the cultural forms in which worship is enacted must be taken seriously. In more traditional terms, the essence or *res* of the sacraments cannot be considered apart from their liturgical celebration. And so the history of liturgy is itself a vital aspect for understanding the meaning of worship.

The previous chapters have also confirmed this conviction, for worship never takes place outside of a specific context, a context which reflects the social, political, and economic condition of its participants.² In fact, the history of liturgy as a whole is the story of the unfolding of Christian worship in conjunction with just such cultural factors. Even when specific liturgical forms atrophy (and this has happened not infrequently in the course of two thousand years of Christianity) popular and more informal elements of worship take their place in popular piety. Thus, as we have seen, liturgical celebration never takes place in abstraction from an historically constituted body of worshippers. Liturgy is always informed by culture.

¹ Cf. D. TRACY, *The Analogical Imagination*, N. Y., 1981, pp. 202-218 for a perceptive treatment of the distinction between manifestation- and proclamation-oriented theologies.

² It was JUNGSMANN who showed how deeply social and cultural influences affected liturgical development in the early medieval Frankish lands, *Pastoral Liturgy*, pp. 1-36; also his *Place of Christ*.

The fact that liturgy is always culturally conditioned has been insufficiently appreciated until modern times. The discipline of sacramental theology was able to ignore the importance of liturgical celebration until liturgiology became a science in its own right. Thus, there was little attention paid to the comparative study of various liturgies in various times and places as a means of understanding the nature and meaning of worship.

But the meaning of Christian worship is not to be found in an abstract notion of the essence of a sacrament, but rather in the gradual unfolding of the historical celebration of the sacraments, i.e., in the history of the liturgy itself. On the basis of this conviction and of the evidence gathered and analyzed in the previous chapters, we can say that the late antique urban environment was one of the most significant factors in that history.

A. CHRISTIANITY AS AN URBAN PHENOMENON

From the age of apostolic preaching Christianity was fundamentally an urban phenomenon.³ At the time of the Constantinian settlement⁴ and the subsequent legitimization of Christianity as the religion of the State, Christian communities were centered mainly in the cities and towns of the late antique Mediterranean littoral. This is important, for in the ancient world the city was civilization, the center of culture. Monasticism, it is true, brought Christianity from the cities and towns to the desert and the countryside.⁵ But this movement began to gain power late in the third century and moreover can be understood as providing a counterpart to (if not judgment on) the centrality of the urban environment for Christianity. Certainly, in terms of the development of specific liturgical forms, the city was the center of Christianity.

It would be simplistic to argue that the city alone was responsible for the forms that liturgical expression took, for Christianity wherever it was located fostered an ideal of unity and harmony among its adherents. But it was in the urban context of ethnic diversity and large populations that the solution to the problem of unity was found in a mobile system of worship. This system reinforced the unity of the various urban groups and thus permitted diversity as well as unity.

³ Cf. W. H. C. FREND, "Town and Countryside", pp. 25-42; also JONES, *The Greek City*, p. 298, and MERKS, *Urban Christians*.

⁴ Throughout this study we have employed the phrase "Constantinian settlement" in a deliberate effort to avoid the question of whether Constantine explicitly accepted Christianity for himself (p. 312). For a judicious assessment of this topic, which is not germane to the present study, cf. ALFOLDI, *Conversion of Constantine*. The most recent treatment of the subject can be found in BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*.

⁵ On the importance of extra-urban personalities in the development of Christianity, cf., BROWN, "Rise and Function," pp. 80-101, also his *Making of Late Antiquity*, pp. 56-80.

A context alone such as the city does not create forms of worship. People do. But it was in the urban context that Christians had to resolve the difficulties inherent in multiple celebrations of the eucharist, the sacrament of unity. Moreover, their solution to the problem of unity in a pre-Constantinian world where, if not dangerous, Christian worship was at least suspicious, had to be modulated in the face of a new social situation after the Constantinian settlement, when to be Christian was not only tolerable but politically and socially advantageous.

This changed social and political climate is mirrored by the development of the urban stational liturgies. As we have seen, the first evidence of a developed system of stations is the liturgy of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was a politically insignificant city within the Roman Empire. Therefore, its christianization posed little threat to the *status quo ante*. On the other hand, the city of Constantinople was relatively new and did not have any real political significance until the reign of Theodosius.⁶ Constantine met with little opposition in initiating major Christian edifices in the central and monumental areas of these cities. Even so, in the case of Constantinople, the dedication of the city seems to have had as much a pagan civil emphasis as it did a Christian one.

Perhaps Constantine had learned the mistake of overdoing a Christian emphasis in the urban atmosphere of Rome, where his program of christianization met with much opposition from the old pagan senatorial and aristocratic class. Because of this opposition Christian social and political dominance of the city was delayed until the beginning of the fifth century. This fact is also evident in the location of Christian church buildings at Rome. No Christian building stood in the venerable monumental area of Rome, the Forum, until two hundred years after Constantine's acceptance of Christianity. Likewise, the dynamic manifestation of the social and political importance of Christianity, liturgical processions, seem to have been slow in developing at Rome, at least on a frequent and regular basis. At Rome, therefore, Christianity was slow in becoming the "common sense" knowledge of society, in comparison with similar developments in Jerusalem and Constantinople.

The process of Christianization suffered a setback in the early fifth century when the Vandals sacked Rome under Alaric. As a result of this event Augustine wrote his interpretation of the spiritualization of Christian civilization to combat pagan criticism that Christianity was responsible for the destruction of Rome's former glory. That defense, *The City of God*, was framed by the popular conception of what constituted civilization, the *civitas*.⁷ Christians overcame the pagan criticism after Rome's fall, and, to

⁶ Cf. DRAGON, *Nataance*, pp. 373-389; also his "Christianisme," pp. 3-25.

⁷ Cf. MARCUS, *Saeculum*, pp. 47-48.

all intents and purposes, each of the cities we have concentrated on were Christianized by the middle of the fifth century.

The sixth century was a period during which the urban stational liturgies were consolidated. During this period we have noted significant relationships between liturgical developments and the historical situation — for example, the adaptation of a number of Byzantine elements to the Roman liturgy during and after the Justinianic reconquest of the city, the use of the Creed at the eucharist at Constantinople, and the addition of the pre-Lenten-Septuagesima season at Rome. This is also the century of the building of Justinian's Hagia Sophia as well as the increase of ceremonialization in the eastern capital.

The situation reverses somewhat in the seventh century with the Arab conquest of Jerusalem, an event which along with the earlier Persian invasion severely curtailed the hagiopolite stational liturgy. One notes that subsequent pilgrim accounts have little to say about the splendors of the Jerusalem liturgy, for after the Arab conquest the Christian church in the city could not afford to mount expensive, mobile, public worship services in the face of a hostile society. One of the most important prerequisites for stational worship, as we have seen, was the ability of the church to express itself publicly by means of worship; i.e., to be a civic as well as a religious reality. This was no longer possible in Jerusalem after the Arab conquest, just as it was not possible in Constantinople after 1453.

The development of stational worship in the urban milieu was a means of making the monumentality of a city live. As such it worked together with art, architecture, and above all, the arrangement and distribution of Christian buildings throughout a city. This congruence of worship and urban space is expressed particularly well by the liturgical procession, for as L. Mumford has written:

... the key to the visible city lies in the moving pageant or the procession: above all, in the great religious procession that winds about the streets and places before it finally debouches into the church or the cathedral for the great ceremony itself. Here is no static architecture. The masses suddenly expand and vanish, as one approaches them or draws away; a dozen paces may alter the relation of the foreground and background, or the lower and upper range of the line of vision.⁹

The people who lived in societies before the invention of the printing press experienced their cities vertically by moving about their streets and walls and public places. They did not experience the urban environment horizontally, as it is now possible to do with elaborate maps and plans, not

⁹ MUMFORD, *City in History*, p. 277.

to mention rapid transport.⁹ Of course, the transformation of the cities with their monuments is a study in itself, and we have here relied on the work of others. But it is important to note that it was the urban stational liturgy that made these monuments and their topographical arrangement a dynamic aspect of the lives of the city's inhabitants. In other words, stational liturgy was intimately related to each city's topographical situation and aided in making the topographical arrangement of the Christian buildings a vital factor in urban life.

Through the various churches, shrines, and public places in the three major cities, Christians were able to express a social victory, what has been called "the conquest of space."¹⁰ But more than the buildings, it was the liturgy that made this "conquest" both visible and viable by covering the city with liturgical action that had the bishop as its main participant. Of course, in Constantinople, this process was sometimes bi-focal because of the importance of the emperor. Christianity, therefore, represented the public religious life of the city by means of its cult. It made the *civitas* not only civilization, but also holy civilization, a civilization defended as much by icons and relics and processions as it was by walls and military and political power. Thus, the city as holy civilization was a concept that was expressed above all liturgically.

B. CHRISTIANITY AND THE IDEA OF THE CITY

Since the late antique city lived on religious and symbolic power as much as on economic, political, and social power, the idea of the city was extraordinarily important. Jerusalem is a good example, for Jerusalem never became a politically important city on the scale of Rome or Constantinople. However, its symbolic status was enormous because of its scriptural and historical importance to the Christian faith. Its monuments were imitated all over Europe, possibly in the early middle ages and certainly in the high middle ages. It even became a symbol that invoked the warfare of the Crusades. Finally, it attracted pilgrims from throughout the Christian world, even after the seventh-century Arab conquest.

Politics as well as religion supported the symbolic power of Constantinople, but these worked together time and again to underscore the special status of this city. To its inhabitants Constantinople was *the*

¹⁰ Cf. DOUGHERTY, *Five-Square City*, pp. 57-59: "The processional ways of Uruk, Jerusalem, Rome, and Byzantium must have made their point not so much by the regular shape they gave the city's plan, but by the visual and kinesthetic pomp of the military and religious processions they channeled, and by the splendor of the walls and gates through which they passed. The power of the ancient city was dramatized primarily by the forms of magnificence that rose vertically before the observer on the ground."

¹¹ PIETRI, *Roma Christiana I*, p. 97.

city.¹¹ It was thought to be guarded by God and special to the Theotokos, the Mother of God. The fortunes of Constantinople were reflected in the symbolic conjunction of the true wood of the Cross and the Palladium of old Rome. According to tradition, these had been placed within the oratory at the base of Constantine's porphyry column in the Forum of Constantine. A number of other relics and icons also represented the city's sacred status. Among them were the robe and the cinch of the Theotokos, which were kept at Blachernae and Chalkoprateia respectively. Moreover, it was claimed that the city was defended by these relics and a number of icons. Thus, Constantinople was not only an imperial city, it was a sacred city.

At Rome political, economic, and social fortunes waned after the fourth century, and especially after the sack of the city in 410. But the city did not lose its symbolic status. Its glorious past was now sustained by the concept of *Roma Aeterna*, the city of the Apostles.¹² As we have mentioned, Augustine of Hippo re-evaluated the relation between Christianity and society on the basis of the concept of the *civitas*, the city as the embodiment of civilization. His solution, that there exist side by side the City of God and the Worldly City, each directed toward its own end, is well known.¹³ One might imagine that the power of the Augustinian synthesis would have spelled the end of an earthly city considered as a sacred place. But alongside Augustine's theoretical elaboration of the relation between earthly and heavenly cities was the more practical solution provided in the fourth century by Eusebius of Caesarea, the confidant of the Emperor Constantine. In the first flush of Christianity's legitimation, Eusebius was concerned to reconcile Christianity and the political world of the Roman Empire. It was Eusebius' more practical solution that was adapted by both church and state in the ensuing centuries.¹⁴ The city was therefore capable of being a sacred place and of having a symbolic place within Christianity. Rome, the city of pilgrims, became just this.

Monasticism too represented a triumph of the urban in Christianity, for although it began as an eremitical and cenobitic phenomenon in the Egyptian and Syrian hinterlands, it was quickly absorbed by urban Christianity. Note the *monazontes* and *parthenae* of Egeria's fourth century description of religious life in Jerusalem.¹⁵ Moreover, we know that by the

¹¹ Cf. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 201, also his *Cities*, p. 153: "Every city — or, it might be more accurate to say, every city before the present age of mechanization — has been among other things, a holy city in some degree." Cf. also, CLAUDE, *Byzantinische Stadt*, p. 298.

¹² PRET, *Roma Christiana II*, pp. 1640-1649.

¹³ Cf. MAZZOLANI, *Idea of the City*, pp. 269-274.

¹⁴ Cf. DYORNIK, *Political Philosophy II*, pp. 611-658.

¹⁵ *Itin. Eg.* 24:1.

fifth century monasticism was also well established in the cities of Rome and Constantinople.¹⁶ The monks, it is true, were somewhat marginal to the social life of the urban milieu, but they also took part in the urban worship life and played a significant role in the religious and political life of the cities. Finally, it was to a great extent through monasticism that the Roman urban liturgy with its stational peculiarities was translated throughout Gaul even after Rome's political and economic collapse.

Therefore, the city of the late antique world was a sacred place, important not only for its political and economic significance but also for the religious life that it represented. To quote Mumford once again:

... the ancient city itself became, and remained right into Roman times, a simulacrum of heaven: even its seeming durability, the freedom of its sacred buildings from the decay and dilapidation of the cramped peasant's hut, only made it come closer to the eternal pattern that man's growing consciousness of the cosmos itself made attractive.¹⁷

It was by means of the attractiveness of the city as a sacred place that some of the major formulations of Christian worship were able to spread throughout Christendom.

C. CHRISTIAN LITURGY AND URBAN LIFE

In chapter seven we concentrated on individual aspects of the three urban liturgies and the effects of the three cities upon them and found that the urban environment affected the development of the liturgy. But the lines of influence were also dialectical, for the liturgies also affected the cities, which must now be demonstrated.

In this particular analysis a good deal of caution is required. It would be erroneous to evaluate Christian liturgy from the fourth to the tenth centuries in terms of modern or contemporary function of worship. An imposition of modern understanding of liturgy upon the past yields little but romanticism and prejudice. Therefore, it is essential to note that the classic liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople were set in a very different social milieu than modern Westerners know today.

Pluralism and secularization are characteristics of modern technological society and were relatively unknown factors in pre-modern social life.¹⁸ Government, church, commerce, and entertainment were not so much separate aspects of life as they are today, but rather they formed

¹⁶ Cf. DRAGON, "Les moines," pp. 229-276; also FERRARI, *Early Roman Monasteries*.

¹⁷ MUMFORD, *City in History*, p. 68.

¹⁸ For the purposes of the argument I am adopting BERGER's division of the modern period, characterized by pluralism and secularization, beginning with the Reformation. cf. his *Sacred Canopy*, pp. 105 ff.

part of a whole. In other words, in the world of Christendom, religion was not a private or voluntary activity. To ask a resident of Constantinople of the sixth century, for example, "Are you a Christian?" would be a meaningless question, for religious and political self-description went hand in hand. There were, of course, non-Byzantine dwellers in Constantinople, but these were by definition outsiders and strangers. "Going to church," therefore, was not the matter of choice it is in modern, pluralistic societies. Worshipping was not a specialized activity as much as it was an expression of membership in society itself. At the same time, church services were not exclusively religious but also upheld the structure of society. Processions were organized and relics and icons were paraded along the ramparts when a city was under attack. To distinguish too sharply between the civil and the religious in such a situation would be a mistake.

Even though the social and religious life of the city was far more integrated than it is (or could be) today, a question must still be raised as to the number of participants in the stational liturgies. The data have provided no absolute answer to this question, and so we must speculate. It would be sheer romanticism to think that all Christians attended all of the stational services. No single church could have contained all of the Christians in any given city.¹⁹ On the other hand, Egeria contended that almost every Christian in Jerusalem attended the procession to Eleona on the afternoon of Pentecost Sunday.²⁰ Large numbers of pilgrims to that city meant that there must have been large crowds at the stational services, at least before the Arab conquest of the seventh century.

Another approach is to note that Chrysostom complained of a lack of church attendance at Constantinople, saying that many were drawn away by the circus and the theatre. One must admit, then, that the christianization of the cultural world did not necessarily make for large attendance at important services of worship. But the more important feast days drew large crowds, especially when the civil calendar coincided with religious celebration as, for example, on 1 September (Indiction) and 11 May (Anniversary of the City's Dedication) at Constantinople. It is also clear that Gregory the Great intended that most of the urban population participate in the Great Litany of 25 April, since he divided the populace into seven groupings. The disposition of the Roman stational churches in the liturgical calendar also points to the fact that large churches were used on days of greater importance. The large basilicas were used on Sundays and great feasts, whereas the smaller *tituli* were assigned to the ordinary

weekdays of Lent. Thus, greater crowds were expected to attend the stational liturgies on more important days.

Two other factors should be considered when attempting to gauge participation in the stational liturgies. First, there were a great number of unemployed people in any large late antique city, so that there were always large numbers of people available for attendance at the stational liturgies. But second, "going to church" may not have seemed absolutely necessary in a society where one's membership in the State religion was implicit. Moreover, the concept of obligatory attendance was foreign to this period. Actually, one of the motivations of holding frequent processions may have been precisely to draw large numbers of people. Processions and parades are always to some extent geared toward attracting popular participation.²¹ Given the paucity of evidence, a reasonable answer to the question of the numbers who participated in the stational liturgies is that the more significant liturgical and civil occasions drew larger numbers of people.

Another prejudice of the modern understanding of worship is a tendency to analyze liturgical elements separately. Of course, as far as the development of liturgical units is concerned, this is a useful procedure, and often it is necessary to investigate individual liturgical units to untangle the thickets of later liturgical developments. But this kind of individual analysis does little to help us to appreciate how eighth-century Romans or sixth-century Byzantines perceived their worship. For example, *orthros*, stational procession, and stational eucharist formed a single pattern of worship without interruption at Constantinople. It is unlikely that the participants perceived these liturgical units so much as separate worship services, as a single feature in the ongoing worship life of the city. The sharp distinction between sacraments and other liturgical ceremonies was not made until the high middle ages, and then only in the West. Thus, one must read commentators on the liturgy with caution. Maximus the Confessor and Germanus begin their commentaries at different points in the eucharistic liturgy. It is possible that they witness not so much development of the eucharistic rite as different points with which to begin describing the liturgy. Therefore, it is important to keep the whole of a city's liturgical life in perspective, so that the integral pattern of worship might not be lost in an isolation of one or another liturgical unit.

The liturgy, especially in its stational form, gave living and active expression to the faith life of Christians in the late antique and early medieval world. Stational worship was essentially public in nature, assuring the populace that they indeed lived in a religious cosmos. In contrast, the modern urban setting in a pluralistic society does not allow

¹⁹ Cf. KRAUTHHEIMER, "Success and Failure in Late Antique Church Planning" in WEITZMANN, *Age of Spirituality*, p. 126. Krauthheimer suggests that the Lateran basilica of the Constantinian period could hold about 3000 faithful.

²⁰ *Itin. Eg.* 43:11.

²¹ Cf. DONCEUR, "Sens humaine de la procession," pp. 29-36; also DALMAIS, "Note sur la sociologie des processions," pp. 37-43.

either such a liturgy or such a perception to happen. To be sure, Christians or other religious and social groups can and do hold public services. They can employ large stadiums for their worship; they can process or parade down major urban thoroughfares. But, for a significant portion, if not a majority, of the population these forms of worship do not express commonly held beliefs. Therefore, the conditions that made the classic stational liturgies possible, i.e., public cultural domination of society, are no longer characteristic of the modern world. Contemporary society can and does have its own version of stational worship in terms of grand civic occasions like parades. But the basis for these is a tenuous common faith, a civil religion, and no longer the specific religious faith that was expressed in the stational liturgies.

Therefore, Christian stational liturgy of the fourth through the tenth centuries is not repeatable in a pluralistic society. But the fact that such liturgical expression could not be made today does not mean that the stational liturgies had little effect on the urban environment of the late antique and early medieval world. On the contrary, the scale, frequency, and extent of the stational liturgies point to their having an enormous influence on their urban social environment.

D. STATIONAL SYSTEMS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF LITURGY

The urban environment was not only affected by the liturgy but also in turn exercised significant influence on the development of worship. Although we have already seen a number of specific influences in the previous chapter, we must still consider the broader stylistic influences on Christian worship that can be attributed to the urban milieu.

The first influence that the urban environment had on Christian worship was a transformation of the scale of liturgy. To a great extent this was due to the changed situation of the Christian communities after the Constantinian settlement. Some caution is necessary here for this transformation has often been misunderstood to mean that prior to the fourth century Christians worshipped only in small groups and in severe and puritanical simplicity. But there is evidence to the contrary, for by the middle of the third century Christians already had basilicas, especially in the eastern part of the Empire. They had also collected large amounts of liturgical silver and gold, as is clear from the inventory of the community at Cirta in North Africa, before the persecution of Diocletian.²² Christians had also begun to decorate their spaces for worship as in the house-church at Dura Europos on the Persian frontier, a building that had been destroyed in 257.²³

²² Cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 24-25 on the church treasure taken at Cirta.

²³ Cf. KRAUTHMEIER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 27-28.

Yet, while it would be unfair to characterize pre-Nicene liturgy as minimal, puritanical, and strictly aniconic, it is impossible to deny that Constantine's acceptance of Christianity signalled a profound transformation in the situation of the church. The description of churches and shrines, as well as the lavish gifts of property, money, and precious objects given to the Christian communities from the time of Constantine all mean that Christianity found itself living in a new social world.²⁴ The greatly increased size and number of buildings for Christian worship in and around the major cities meant a vastly increased scale of worship. Moreover, the interplay between the liturgical sites by means of stational services and, especially, liturgical processions provided for a grand display of public Christian worship. By the same token, greater scale encouraged further ceremonialization.²⁵ The classic forms of stational liturgy were a direct result of this transformation in the scale of worship. They also provided a model for the liturgical arrangement of other towns and communities.

The urban milieu also affected the development of the stational liturgy in terms of a transformed social function of worship, related to Christianity's legitimated status within the Empire. The process of legitimation did not take place overnight, but occurred gradually and at a different pace in each of the three cities: first, Jerusalem, then Constantinople, and finally recalcitrant Rome. The symbolic religious focus of the city was no longer provided by the old gods and the State cult, but rather by the Christian God and Christian saints. These were the new protectors of the Roman Empire, and so Christianity replaced the content of the old State religion but maintained the same function of upholding the social system. In the process, Christianity with its emphasis on personal salvation also won out over the mystery cults which had a voluntary (as opposed to civil religious) character.

All this is not to claim that Christians did not exercise a critical function over against society at large. This was certainly the case with great figures like Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Chrysostom. There was also an enduring struggle between Church and Crown, especially in the West. The monastic and the holy man stood over against the reigning culture in ascetical, and sometimes prophetic, witness. Finally, there was an increased seriousness about the radical nature of Christian conversion and initiation, beginning with the apotropaic catechetical commentaries of

²⁴ On the donations to Christian churches in the fourth century, cf. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana* I, pp. 77-84.

²⁵ The best recent studies of how scale affected the performance aspect of the liturgy are concerned with the action points in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; cf. TAFT, *The Great Entrance*; idem, "Origins of the Offertory Procession," pp. 73-107; MATEOS, *Célébration*; and SCHATTAUER, "Koinonikon," pp. 91-96.

the fourth century.²⁶ But even with these demurrers, Christendom was an established fact in urban life by the middle of the fifth century. Moreover, the most potent expression of this new face of the *civitas* was the Christian cult, especially in its most public form, the stationary liturgy. To participate in civilization and to be a Christian were now one and the same thing.

Finally, the scale and social function of Christian worship also affected the theological interpretation of the eucharist. It was precisely the open and public character of the celebration of the eucharist that eventually encouraged its mysteriological and allegorical interpretation. This is, to say the least, a paradoxical juxtaposition, for one would think that the public nature of the cult after Constantine would lead to a less hidden and therefore less mysteriological interpretation of the eucharist.

However, just the opposite happened for two reasons. The first, not directly related to the stationary liturgy, is that the freedom of the new cultural situation all owed greater opportunity to concentrate on individual aspects of Christian theology such as the Trinity, Christology, Mariology, grace, and the sacraments.²⁷ The second reason is related to the development of stationary liturgy. The newly public nature of the Christian church necessitated a more profound theological explanation of what happened at worship. It cannot be an accident that no theological interpretations of the eucharist are available to us from the pre-Nicene church. It was only with the fourth century that conditions within the church required further explanation of the sacraments from preachers and theologians. Moreover, these theological interpretations tended to focus more directly on the hidden meaning of the sacramental actions than on the evident meaning of the gathered *ekklesia* as Christ's body enacting itself in prayer. Thus more attention began to be given to the ritual actors, the assembly, began to fade into the theological background.

Our intention here is not to criticize catechetical preachers and theologians of the fourth and subsequent centuries for what they did not do, namely interpret the eucharist theologically on the basis of the assembly itself. Rather we must point out that what needed interpretation at the time was the ritual action focussed on the elements. This tendency led to a eucharistic piety that allowed for the so-called "private mass," for it was the action itself and not necessarily its relation to participants that was considered important. As we saw in chapter seven, A. Häussling has

²⁶ Cf. WINKLER, "Pre-baptismal Anointing," pp. 24-25; KAVANAGH, *Shape of Baptism*, pp. 35-78; and SCHWEMM, *Introduction*, pp. 72-101.

²⁷ This is also the position of KRETSCHMAR, "Abendmahl," p. 77: "Das Zeitalter Konstantins veränderte das Verhältnis von Kirche und Umwelt in den Grenzen des Imperium Romanum grundlegend; aus einer von Verfolgung bedrohten Minorität wurde noch im Laufe des 4. Jh. die für die Gesellschaft normensetzende und prägende Kraft; der Gottesdienst nahm damit den Charakter einer öffentlichen Institution an."

Cf. also TAFT, "The Liturgy of the Great Church."

shown that the stationary system of Rome as adapted in the northern monasteries provided the physical setting for the development of a "private mass." Therefore, we find a paradox in the development of the eucharist. The very system that fostered the unity of the *ekklesia* around its bishop in a given urban environment also allowed for the development of a less unitive celebration of the eucharist. Crucial to this process was the need for greater interpretation of the eucharist that arose with the greater scale and newly public nature of the Christian community in the fourth century.

It would be simplistic to claim that the urban context accounted for all developments in the theory and practice of Christian worship from the fourth to the tenth centuries.²⁸ However, it is undeniable that the urban environments of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople had a profound effect on these developments.

CONCLUSION: SPACE, TIME, AND WORSHIP

In the mid nineteenth-century Gregory Dix popularized the notion that a fourth-century Constantinian "revolution" radically changed the Christian appreciation of time from an eschatologized to an historicized point of view.²⁹ As we have seen in chapter two, this approach is in need of nuance, for a transformation in the availability and use of space for worship was the necessary precondition for the development of a fuller historicized liturgical calendar. As Mateos has pointed out, there is technically no "sacred space" or "sacred time" in Christianity, for all time and space have been sanctified in Christ.³⁰ Furthermore, as Taft and Talley have recently shown, the historicized or memorial conception of time was not new to Christians in the post-Constantinian period.³¹ There had always been a strong affinity for history in a faith that had been founded in historical events.

The new factor in the fourth century, that factor which brought Christianity and culture together in the perception and employment of time and space, was the freedom that Christians now had to worship in a truly public fashion. Because space in itself is "the *a priori* representation forming the base of all intuitions" as Kant has argued³² and because space is "shot through with symbolic elements" and "forms as it were the universal medium in which spiritual activity can first establish itself," as

²⁸ Cf. KRETSCHMAR, "Abendmahl," pp. 77-86.

²⁹ DIX, *Shape*, pp. 303-359.

³⁰ MATEOS, *Beyond Conventional Christianity*, pp. 109-119.

³¹ Cf. TALLEY, "Liturgical Time," pp. 34-49; also TAFT, "Historicism Revisited," pp. 97-107.

³² KANT, *Critique of Pure Reason*, I:1:2, N.Y., 1966, p. 29.

the neo-Kantian, Ernst Cassirer put it,³³ we can perceive the importance of new relation between Christians and their urban environment. Christians now could not only own property but could also vie with other groups for owning the space of the city. Moreover, the symbolic ownership of urban space was expressed by means of the stational and processional liturgy.

The struggles among various Christian groups for the ownership and use of church property were not so much economic in their motivation as indicative of a religious need to express the Christian possession of the city, that is of *civitas*. The same process, this time in reverse, is evident in the transformation of Hagia Sophia and other Christian monuments into mosques after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by Mehmet II. Social and cultural identity is dependent on a common perception of space.³⁴ In contemporary society this fact is realized in a somewhat attenuated fashion by means of civic holidays and civil or ethnic parades, whereas in the homogeneous culture of the late antique and early medieval world the meaning system, or common sense, or the entire society was expressed by means of specifically religious symbolism in Christian buildings and feasts.³⁵ The populace spontaneously turned to religious manifestations in times of great danger but also in a regular ritualized fashion in the festal celebrations and processions that have been surveyed in the previous chapters. Therefore, churches, shrines, and the yearly calendar of feasts, fasts, and commemorations provided the raw material of the ritualized identity of Roman, hagiopolite, and Constantinopolitan culture, but its incarnation, the living expression of this identity was the stational liturgy.

Moreover, urban stational worship was able to play on the variations of urban space. Churches, shrines, and *martyria* were privileged centers of worship, often richly adorned with art and precious metals. But, however privileged these cult centers were, they were not the only *loci* of Christian worship. Since the *civitas* itself was holy, the public places and streets of the city were fit places for worship as well. Even the marginal extra-urban territory which contained cemeteries and villas were integrated into the urban life of worship. In addition, colonnaded roads led from several of the Roman cemeterial basilicas to the city walls, thus expanding the processional paths of the city.

³³ CASSIRER, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, volume III, ET, New Haven, 1957, pp. 149, 150. On the symbolism of sacred space cf. also GY, "Espace et célébration," pp. 39-46.

³⁴ Cf. HEIDELAND, "Time and Space," pp. 1285-1305.

³⁵ Of course, modern pluralistic societies can have commonly "sacred" spaces and feasts. The phenomenon of a fundamentally religious basis for contemporary American society has been analyzed by BELLAH, "American Civil Religion."

By means of the stational liturgy, and especially of processions, variations in urban space were experienced not statically but dynamically. Recent studies have shown that paths are a very important element in the human experience of the city. So significant are they, that it has been suggested that "getting there is *all* the fun."³⁶ The liturgical use of the streets and public places of Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople suggests that this statement is accurate. This out-of-doors aspect of Christian worship in its stational form best exhibits Christianity's relation to late antique and early medieval urban life. It reveals that the city itself was sacred space and that its walls enclosed not only a geographical area but also an idea. This is why Augustine chose *civitas* as the point of reference for his theology of history. The city itself represented civilization, and as such was an apt place for public worship.

A city can be compared to a language.³⁷ Monuments, public places, thoroughfares, the center, edge, and important outlying spots are the vocabulary of this language, while the social and cultural life of the city is the language's syntactical expression. If this is so, then the stational liturgy was one of the most elegant forms of the urban syntax, the use of urban language at its best.

As specific languages, even within the same language family, given tone and feeling to the particular cultures that they embody, so also the urban languages of the late antique cities differed. Thus, the syntax of the language of stational liturgy and its vocabulary differed from Jerusalem to Rome to Constantinople.

Moreover, the idea of the center of the city was a symbolic notion, one given to rich symbolic expression, and not a purely geographical one. The Rome of the pre-Constantinian period had its center in the Palatine and Forum, the areas from which the city originally grew. But two relatively distant spots vied for this position of symbolic center of the city after the fourth century, namely the Vatican and Lateran basilicas. On the other hand, Jerusalem and Constantinople had undisputed centers in the Golgotha complex and monumental area around the Hagia Sophia and Forum of Constantine respectively. All three cities had edges that demarcated the city walls as well as outlying areas that were brought into the orbit of the *civitas*. Thoroughfares or paths consisted of colonnaded streets connecting public buildings and public places as well as churches with one another. These paths provided for their interaction on public occasions. All of these syntactical elements were appropriated in varying ways in the language of stational liturgy.

³⁶ BLOOMER and MOORE, *Body, Memory*, p. 88.

³⁷ BLOOMER and MOORE, *Body, Memory*, pp. 78-79; cf. also LYNCH, *Image of the City*, pp. 47-82, and MARTIN, *Breaking of the Image*, p. 55.

In its specifically processional form the stationary liturgy can be compared not only to the elegant expression of the urban language but also to a choreography of the urban pattern of worship. A procession is a most intentional act, heightening a sense of participation in leading its partakers to a goal.³⁸ On the other hand, such movement also suggests incompleteness. This incompleteness or pilgrim nature of the Christian community is well expressed by the supplicatory and penitential motifs used in the liturgical processions. Processions in the stationary liturgies were not merely a means of getting from one church to another to the accompaniment of hymns, psalms, and prayers. Their arrangement was often far too artificial to imply a strictly pragmatic meaning. They were a means of expressing the public and cultural nature of Christianity and an expression of that faith as pilgrimage and process. This implicit meaning of the liturgical processions may have enhanced their dangerous and eruptive quality, a quality that encouraged legislation about them in the legal codes.

All of these aspects of the city and of its cultural life expressed in the stationary liturgy show the dialectical interplay between Christianity and the world whose meaning it became. Thus, worship within the context of the late antique and early medieval world was not merely a pious curiosity nor was it a discrete activity, one among many cultural or social events in the life of the city. Rather, it was an expression of the very heart of urban life, of the very meaning of the *civitas* as a holy place. The *domus ecclesiae* of the pre-Constantinian period may have become a *domus dei* in subsequent centuries, but the city itself became a house for the Christian assembly.³⁹ It could even be conceived of as a *domus dei*. Chrysostom expressed this during the crisis of the Statues at Antioch by saying that in time of need "...the whole city has become a church for us."⁴⁰

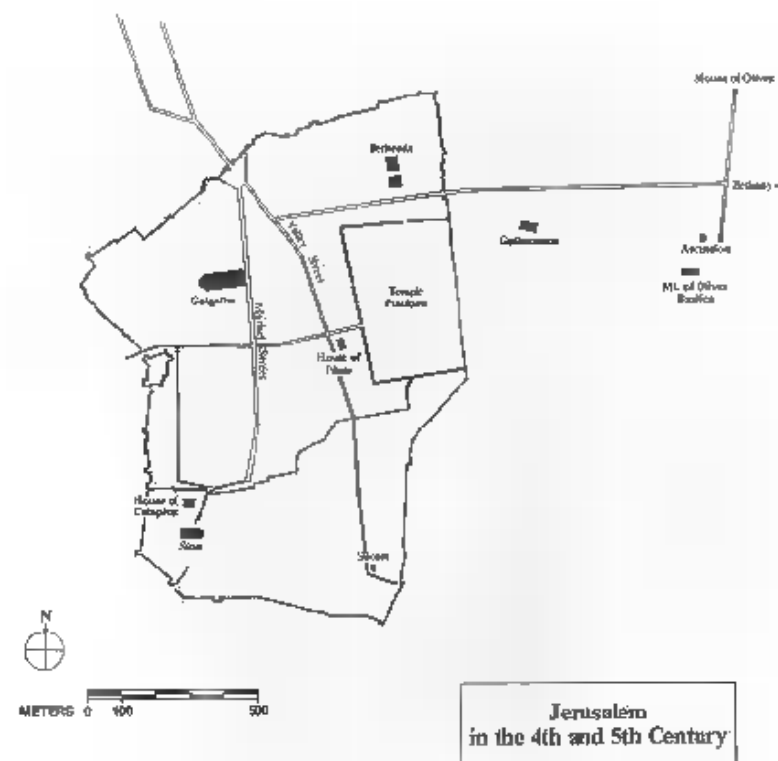
Indeed in the course of the transformation of Christian identity that took place in the fourth century and developed in subsequent centuries, the city did become a church, and inevitably transformed the shape and meaning of Christian worship. This transformation in the urban character of liturgy, far more than texts and theological treatises was the major impetus for the development of liturgical life in both East and West.

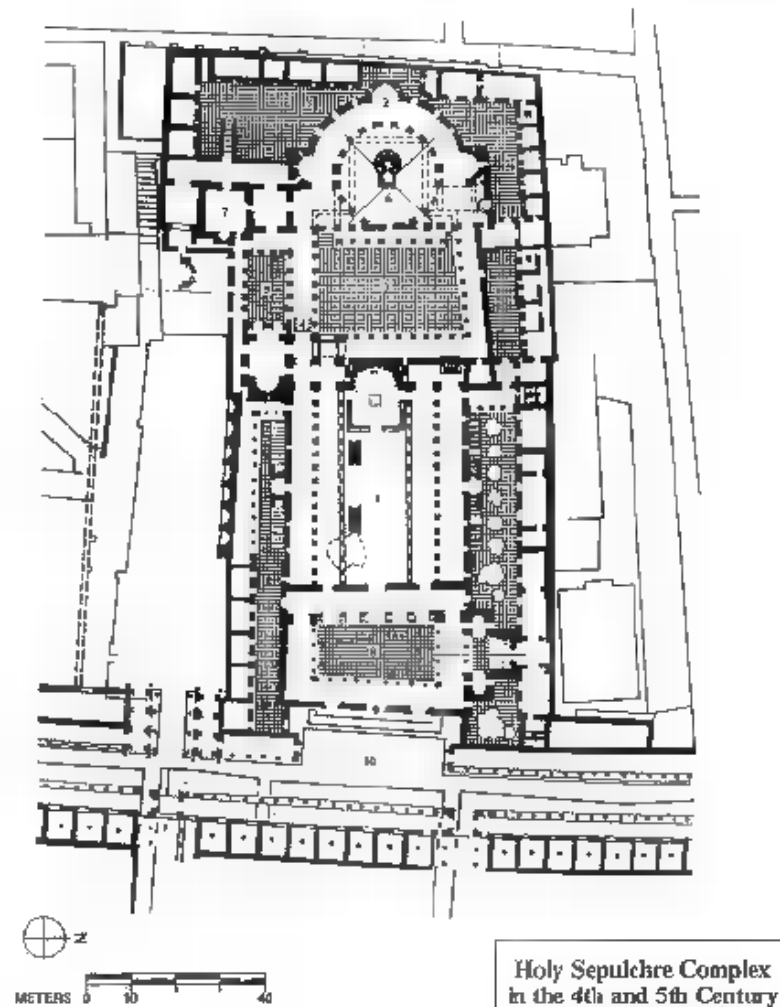
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³⁸ DALMAIS "Note sur la sociologie des processions," pp. 37-42.

³⁹ Cf. MOHRMANN, "Denominations de l'église," pp. 155-174. Mohrmann notes that *domus dei* never quite became a technical term. The most common term eventually was *ecclesia* and not *domus ecclesiae*.

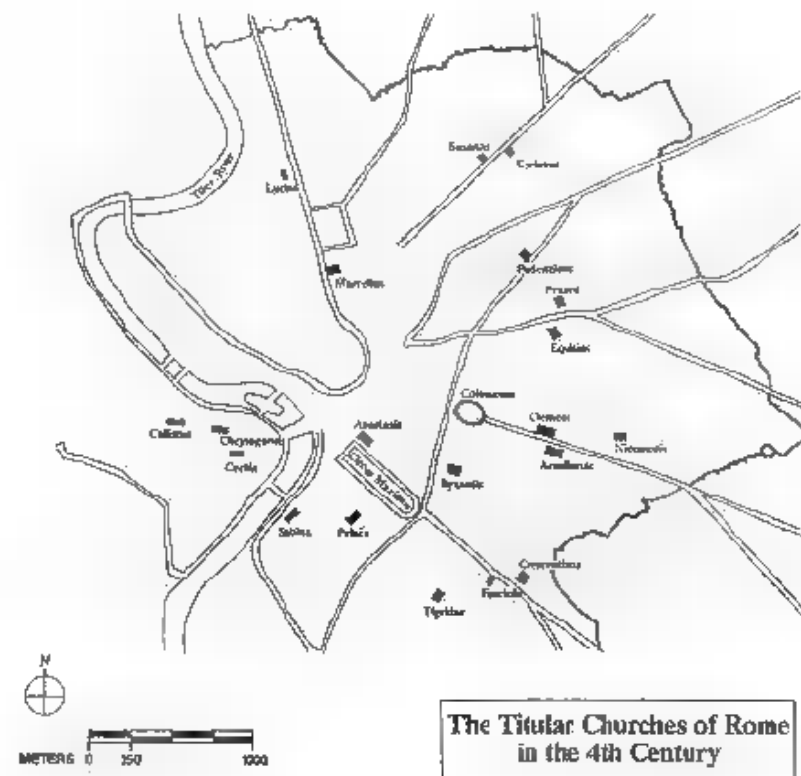
⁴⁰ CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily 15 on the Statues*, PG 49:155, NPNF 1:IX, p. 139: "...ἐκκλησία γέγονεν ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ὅλησα. I am grateful to Dr. Michael McCormick for pointing out this reference to me.



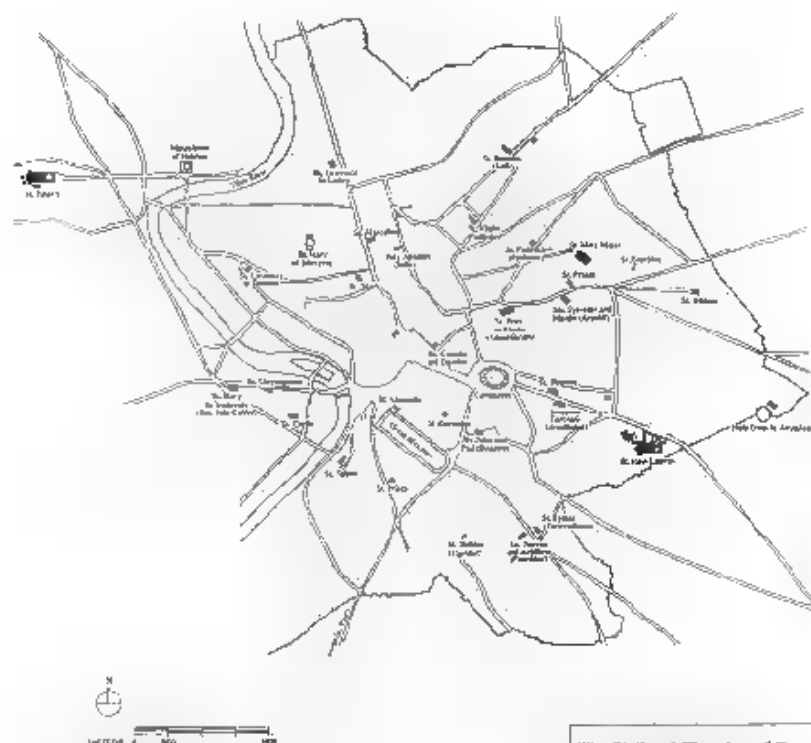


Holy Sepulchre Complex
in the 4th and 5th Century

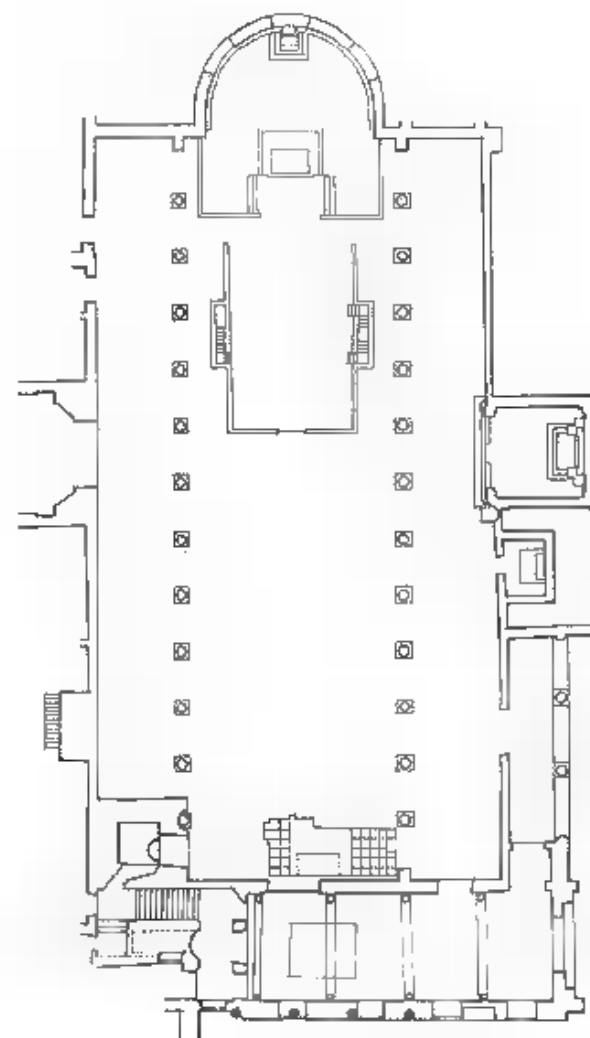
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|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Constantine's Basilica (Martyrium) | 6. Tomb of Christ |
| 2. Rotunda of Porphyry (Atrium) | 7. Basilica |
| 3. Forecourt at the Cross | 8. Forecourt at Basilica |
| 4. The Cross (Garden) | 9. Main Entrance (Propylaeum) |
| 5. Chapel Behind the Cross | 10. Market Street (Cardo Maximus) |



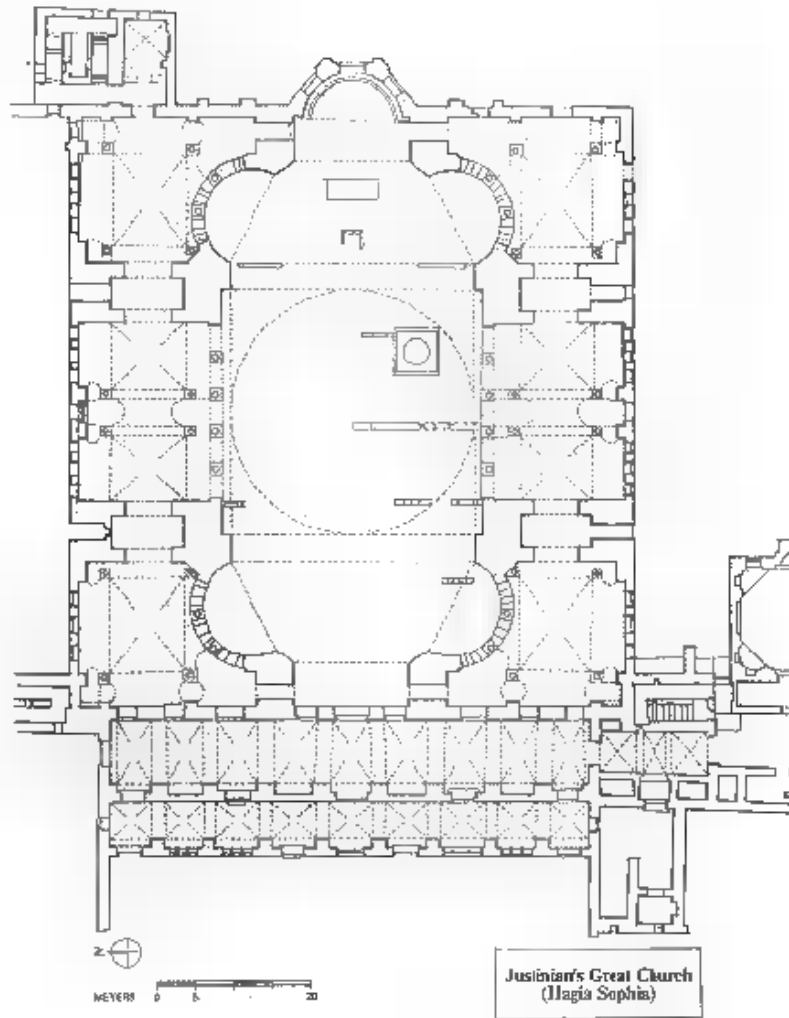
The Titular Churches of Rome
in the 4th Century



The Stational Churches of Rome
in the 6th Century



Santa Sabina
on the Aventine



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY VIGIL READINGS IN ARMENIAN AND GEORGIAN LECTIONARIES

<i>Christmas - GL</i>		<i>Epiphany - GL</i>		<i>Epiphany - AL</i>	
1. Gen. 1:1-3:24		1. Gen. 1:1-3:24		1. Gen. 1:1-3:28	
2. Isa. 7:10-17		2. Isa. 60:1-22		2. Isa. 7:10-18	
3. Exod. 13:17-14:32		3. Exod. 13:17-14:32		3. Exod. 14:24-15:12	
4. Micah 5:2-7		4. Isa. 43:10-20		4. Micah 5:2-7	
5. Prov. 1:1-9		5. Josh. 4:4-11		5. Prov. 1:1-9	
6. Isa. 9:5-7		6. Isa. 44:2-11		6. Isa. 9:5-7	
7. Isa. 11:1-9		7. Micah 7:17-28		7. Isa. 11:1-9	
8. Isa. 35:3-10		8. Isa. 45:1-13		8. Isa. 35:3-8	
9. Isa. 40:9-17		9. Ezek. 36:25-36		9. Isa. 40:10-17	
10. Isa. 42:1-18		10. Dan. 3:1-97		10. Isa. 42:1-8a	
11. Dan. 3:1-97		11. Dan. 3:1-97			

EMPHANY - OCTAVE STATIONS

	<i>Egeria</i>
First day	Martyrium
Second day	Martyrium
Third day	Martyrium
Fourth day	Eleona
Fifth day	Lazarium
Sixth day	Sion
Seventh day	Anastasis
Eighth day	<i>Ad Crucem</i>

EMPHANY - OCTAVE STATIONS

	<i>AL</i>	<i>GL</i>
(Sun.) Martyrium	Martyrium	Martyrium
	St. Stephen's	Anastasis
	Sion	Sion
	Eleona	Nea
	Lazarium	St. John Baptist's
<i>Ad Crucem</i>	<i>Ad Crucem</i>	St. Stephen's
Anastasis	Anastasis	<i>Ad Crucem</i>
		Anastasis

EASTER - OCTAVE STATIONS.

	<i>Egeria</i>
Sunday	Martyrium
Monday	Martyrium
Tuesday	Martyrium
Wednesday	Eleona
Thursday	Anastasis
Friday	Sion
Saturday	<i>Ad Crucem</i>
Sunday	Martyrium

GL

Martyrium
Anastasis
Sion
Sion
<i>Ad Crucem</i>
-
Martyrium

APPENDIX 2

STATIONS (EXCEPT HOLY WEEK) IN EGERIA AND THE AL

<i>Feast</i>	<i>Egeria</i>	<i>AL-J</i>	<i>AL-P</i>
5 January	Bethlehem	10th hr. Shepherds Martyrium	Shepherds Martyrium
Epiphany 6 January	1st hr. Martyrium	Mart. of St. Stephen (Sun.) Martyrium	Mart. of St. Stephen Martyrium
2nd Day	Martyrium	Sion	Sion
3rd Day	Eleona	Eleona	Eleona
4th Day	Lazarium	Lazarium	Lazarium
5th Day	Sion	Ad Crucem	Ad Crucem
6th Day	Anastasis	Anastasis	Anastasis
7th Day	Ad Crucem		
8th Day	—	Anastasis	Anastasis
Peter and Abisalom (11 Jan.)	—	Anastasis	Anastasis
Anthony (17 Jan.)	—	Martyrium	Martyrium
Theodosius (19 Jan.)	Anastasis	Mart. of St. Stephen	?
Hypocrite (2 Feb.)	—		
40 Martyrs (9 March)	—		
Cyril (19 March)	—		
John, Bp. of Jer. (29 March)	—		
Lent - Wk. 1	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Wed.	Lucern. Anastasis		
Fri.	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Lent - Wk. 2	Lucern. Anastasis	10th hr. Anastasis	Anastasis
Mon.	—		
Tues.	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Anastasis	Anastasis
Wed.	Lucern. Anastasis	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Thurs.	—	10th hr. Anastasis	Anastasis

APPENDIX 2 (continued)

STATIONS (EXCEPT HOLY WEEK) IN EGERIA AND THE AL

<i>Feast</i>	<i>Egeria</i>	<i>AL-J</i>	<i>AL-P</i>
Lent - Wk. 2	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Fri.	10th hr. Anastasis	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Lent - Wk. 3	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Wed.	Lucern. Anastasis		
Fri.	9th hr. Sion	10th hr. Sion	Sion
Lent - Wk. 4	Lucern. Anastasis		
Lent - Wk. 5 (AL)	7th hr. Bethany Lazarium	10th hr. Lazarium	Lazarium
Jerusalem (1 May)	—	Anathoth	Anathoth
Apparition of Cross (7 May)	—	Ad Crucem	Ad Crucem
Holy Innocents	—	9 May	18 May
Fortieth Day after Pascha	Bethlehem	Bethlehem	Bethlehem
Constantine (22 May)	—	?	Imobomon
Pentecost	Martyrium	Martyrium	?
3rd hr.	Sion	Martyrium	Martyrium
midday	Imobomon	Sion	Sion
9th hr.	Eleona	10th hr. Imobomon	Imobomon
midnight	Martyrium	evening Sion	Sion
	Anastasis		
	Ad Crucem		
	Sion - dismissal		

(The pattern of the third week is the same for weeks 4, 5 and 6 in both Egeria and AL. Egeria adds an extra week in Lent).

APPENDIX 2 (continued)

<i>Feast</i>	<i>Egeria</i>	<i>AL-J</i>	<i>At-P</i>
Zachariah (10 June)	—		
Elisha (14 June)	—		
Ark of the Covenant (2 July)	—		
Isaiah (6 July)	—	Kiriath-Jearim	Kiriath-Jearim
Macabees (1 August)	—		
Theotokos (15 August)	—	2nd mile from Bethlehem 23 Aug.-Bethpage	3rd mile from Bethlehem 4 Aug.-Bethpage
Thomas	—		
John the Baptist (29 August)	—		
Enkaimia			
13 Sept.	Martyrium	Anastasius	Anastasius
14 Sept.	Martyrium	Martyrium	Martyrium
15 Sept.	Eleona	—	—
16 Sept.	?	—	—
17 Sept.	?	—	—
18 Sept.	?	—	—
19 Sept.	?	—	—
20 Sept.	?	—	—
Philip (20 Nov.)	—	—	—
Andrew (30 Nov.)	—	—	—
Jacob & David (25 Dec.)	—	Sion (other cities Christmas)	Sion (David & James)
Stephen (27 Dec.)	—	Diakonikon of Sion?	Martyrium of St. Stephen?
Peter and Paul (28 Dec.)	—		
James and John (29 Dec.)	—		

APPENDIX 3
STATIONS IN THE SUNDAY AND FESTAL HOMILIES
OF GREGORY THE GREAT

<i>Homily \$</i>	<i>Sunday/feast</i>	<i>Station</i>
33	Sept. Ember Friday	S. Clemente
31	Sept. Ember Saturday	S. Lorenzo
20	Advent Ember Saturday	Lateran
1	Advent Sunday 2	St. Peter's
6	Advent Sunday 3	SS. Marcellino e Pietro
7	Advent Sunday 4	St. Peter's
8	Christmas	Sta. Maria Maggiore
9	Epiphany	St. Peter's
19	Septuagesima	S. Lorenzo
15	Sexagesima	S. Paolo
2	Quinquagesima	St. Peter's
16	Lent Sunday 1	Lateran
18	Lent Sunday 5	St. Peter's
21	Easter Sunday	Sta. Maria Maggiore
23	Easter Monday	St. Peter's
24	Easter Wednesday	S. Lorenzo
25	Easter Thursday	Lateran
22	Easter Saturday	Lateran
26	1st Sunday after Easter	Lateran
14	2nd Sunday after Easter	St. Peter's
29	Ascension	St. Peter's
30	Pentecost	St. Peter's
36	2nd Sunday after Pentecost	SS. Apostoli
40	2nd Sunday after Pentecost	S. Lorenzo
34	3rd Sunday after Pentecost	SS. Giovanni e Paolo

APPENDIX 4

STATIONS IN THE COMES OF WÜRZBURG

§	Stational Notice	Feast
I	In natale dni ad scā Maria	Christmas Eve
II	Ad scā Maria	Christmas Euch. 1
III	Ad scā Anastasia	Christmas Euch. 2
IV	Ad scm Petrum	Christmas Euch. 3
V	Ad scā Maria	Christmas Euch. 1
VI	Ad scā Anastasia	Christmas Euch. 2
VII	Ad scm Petrum	Christmas Euch. 3
XXXIV	In Septuagesima ad Laurentiam	Septuagesima Sunday
XXXV	In sexagesima ad scm Paulum	Sexagesima Sunday
XXXVI	In Quinquagesima	Quinquagesima Sunday
XXXVII	Feria iv ad scā Sabina	Ash Wednesday
XXXVIII	Feria vi ad scos Johannem et Paulum	Friday after Ash Wednesday
XXXIX	Quadragesima ad Lateranē	Lent, Sunday 1
XL	Feria ii ad Vincula	Lent, Monday 1
XLI	Feria iii ad scā Anastasia	Lent, Tuesday 1
XLII	Feria iv ad scā Maria mensi primi	Lent, Ember Wednesday (prob. Ember Wed.)
XLIII	Feria v ad scā Maria	Lent, Ember Friday
XLIV	Feria vi ad Apostolos	Lent, Ember Saturday
XLV	Sabbato ad scm Petrum in xii Lectiones mense primo	Lent, Monday 2
LI	Feria ii ad scm Clementem	Lent, Tuesday 2
LII	Feria iii ad scā Balbina	Lent, Wednesday 2
LIII	Feria iv ad scā Cecelia	Lent, Friday 2
LIV	Feria vi ad scm Vitalem	Lent, Saturday 2
LV	Sabbato ad scos Marcellinam et Petrum	Lent, Sunday 3
LVI	Ad scm Laurentium in Tricissima	Lent, Monday 3
LVII	Feria iii ad scm Marcum	Lent, Tuesday 3
LVIII	Feria iii ad scā Potentiana	Lent, Wednesday 3
LIX	Feria iv ad scm Syxtum	Lent, Friday 3
LX	Feria vi ad scm Laurentium in Lucine	Lent, Saturday 3
LXI	Sabbato ad scā Susanna	Lent, Sunday 4
LXII	Dominica ante xxma ad Hierusalem	Lent, Monday 4
LXIII	Feria ii ad iv Coronatos	Lent, Tuesday 4
LXIV	Feria iii ad scm Laurentium in Damasi	Lent, Wednesday, Mediana
LXV	Feria iv ad scm Paulum in Mediana	Lent, Friday in Mediana
LXVII	Feria vi ad scm Eusebium	Lent, Saturday Mediana
LXX	Die Sabbatorum ad scm Laurentium in Mediana	Lent, Sunday 5, Mediana

APPENDIX 4 (continued)

STATIONS IN THE COMES OF WÜRZBURG

§	Stational Notice	Feast
LXXI	Ad scm Crisogorum	Lent, Monday 5
LXXII	Feria iii ad scm Cyriacum	Lent, Tuesday 5
LXXIII	Feria iv ad scm Marcellum	Lent, Wednesday 5
LXXIV	Feria vi ad scm Stephanum	Lent, Friday 5
LXXV	Dominica indulgentia ad Lateranē	Lent, Sunday 6
LXXVI	Ad scos Nereum et Achilleum	Holy Week, Monday
LXXVII	Feria iii ad scā Prisca	Holy Week, Tuesday
LXXX	Feria iv ad scā Maria	Holy Week, Wednesday
LXXXII	Feria v ad Lateranē quando Crisma conficitur	Holy Week, Thursday
LXXXIII	Feria vi ad Hierusalem	Holy Week, Friday
LXXXV	Sabbato scō ad Lateranē	Holy Saturday
LXXXVI	In Dominico scō ad scā Maria	Easter Sunday
LXXXVII	Feria ii ad scm Petrum	Easter Monday
LXXXVIII	Feria iii ad scm Paulum	Easter Tuesday
LXXXIX	Feria iv ad scm Laurentium	Easter Wednesday
XC	Feria v in Basilica Apostolorum	Easter Thursday
XCI	Feria vi ad scā Maria Martyra	Easter Friday
XCI	Die Sabbati in Lateranē	Easter Saturday
XCII	Dominica ad Lateranē	Octave of Easter
CVII	Feria ii ad Vincula	Pentecost Monday
CVIII	Feria iii ad scā Anastasia	Pentecost Tuesday
CIX	Feria iv ad scā Maria	Pentecost Wednesday
CXI	Feria v ad Apostolos	Pentecost Thursday
CXII	Feria vi ad scos Johannem et Paulum	Pentecost Friday
CXIII	ad scm Stephanum	Pentecost Saturday
CXIV	Domini in nativitatē	Octave of Pentecost
CXVI	Feria iv ad scā Maria	Ember Wednesday
CXVIII	Feria vi ad Apostolos	Ember Friday
CXIX	Sabbato ad scm Petrum	Ember Saturday
CXXII	Feria iv ad scā Maria	Sept., Ember Wed.
CXXIV	Feria vi ad Apostolos	Sept., Ember Fri.
CXXV	Sabbato ad scm Petrum	Sept., Ember Sat.
CLXI	Feria iv ad scā Maria	Dec., Ember Wed.
CLXIII	Feria vi ad Apos	Dec., Ember Fri.
CLXIV	Sabbato ad scm Petrum	Dec., Ember Sat.
CLXIX	ad scm Petrum	Dec., Ember Sat.

APPENDIX 5

STATIONAL CHANGES IN THE WÜRZBURG GOSPEL LIST

Station	Feast/Date
St. Mary ad Martyres	Octave of Christmas, January 1
St. Peter's	Vigil of Epiphany, January 5
SS. Giovanni e Paolo	Sunday after Epiphany
"in Pincis"	St. Felix, January 13
S. Eusebio	2nd Sunday after Epiphany
No station mentioned	Hypopante, February 2
Dominica vacat	Lent, Sunday 2
(No station given)	Octave of Easter
SS. Cosma e Damiano	2nd Sunday after Easter
Sta. Maria Maggiore	Pentecost Wk., Ember Wednesday
SS. Apostoli	Pentecost Wk., Ember Friday
St. Peter's	Pentecost Wk., Ember Saturday
S. Paolo	St. Paul's, June 30
<i>ad aquilonem</i>	7 Brother Martyrs, July 10
<i>ad sanctum Alexandrinum</i>	7 Brother Martyrs, July 10
<i>ad sanctum Felicitatem</i>	7 Brother Martyrs, July 10
(No station given)	Natale scae Mariae, August 15
SS. Cosma e Damiano	Sunday before September 27 (their feast day)
S. Felicità (euch. 2)	Sts. Clement and Felicity November 23

APPENDIX 6

STATIONS IN THE GREGORIAN SACRAMENTARIES

1. Omissions in the Hadrianum

Station	Feast/Date
Sta. Maria Maggiore	Vigil of Christmas, December 24
St. Peter's	Vigil of Epiphany, January 5
SS. Giovanni e Paolo	Sunday after Epiphany
S. Eusebio	2nd Sunday after Epiphany
Lateran	Octave of Easter
SS. Cosma e Damiano	2nd Sunday after Easter
S. Paolo	St. Paul's, June 30
aquilonem, Alexander's, Felicity	7 Brother Martyrs, July 10

2. Thursdays in Lent

Station	Feast
S. Giorgio in vetula	Thursday after Ash Wednesday
S. Lorenzo in Formosa	Lent, Thursday 1
Sta. Maria in Trastevere	Lent, Thursday 2
SS. Cosma e Damiano	Lent, Thursday 3
S. Silvestro	Lent, Thursday 4
S. Apollinare	Lent, Thursday 5

3. Changes in Lent

Station	Feast
Sta. Praxedes (instead of Sts. Nereus and Achilleus)	Holy Week, Monday
St. Peter's (instead of <i>vacant</i> in Comes and Lateran in Würzburg Gospels)	Lent, Saturday 5

4. Collectae in Lent and in Feasts of the Virgin

Collecta/Station	Feast/Date
S. Adriano - Sta. Maria Maggiore	Hypopante, 2 February
Sta. Anastasia - Sta. Sabina	Ash Wednesday
S. Adriano - Sta. Maria Maggiore	Annunciation, March 25
S. Adriano - Sta. Maria Maggiore	Assumption, August 15
S. Adriano - Sta. Maria Maggiore	Nativity (BVM) - September 8
SS. Cosma e Damiano - S. Cesario	St. Caesarius - November 1

APPENDIX 6 (continued)

5. New Stational Feasts

Station	Feast/Date
S. Paolo	Holy Innocents, December 28
S. Giovanni a Porta Latina	Dedication, May 6
Sta. Maria ad Martyres	Dedication, May 13
St. Peter's	Pentecost Sunday
St. Peter's	Octave of Sts. Peter and Paul, July 6
S. Pietro ad Vincula	St. Peter in Chains, August 1
St. Peter's	Advent, Sunday 3

APPENDIX 7

COLLECTÆ AND STATIONS IN MABILLON'S
ORDO ROMANUS XVI

Day	Collecta	Station
Ash Wednesday	St. Anastasia	St. Sabina
Thursday after Ash Wed.	St. Nicholas in Carcere	St. George
Friday after Ash Wed.	St. Lucia in Septizonio	Sts. John and Paul
Saturday after Ash Wed.	St. Lawrence in Lucina	St. Trypho
Monday, Lent 1	Sts. Cosmas & Damian	St. Peter ad Vincula
Tuesday, Lent 1	St. Nicholas in Carcere	St. Anastasia
Wednesday, Lent 1	St. Peter ad Vincula	St. Mary Major
Thursday, Lent 1	St. Agatha in Monasterio	St. Lawrence in Panisperna
Friday, Lent 1	St. Mark	Holy Apostles
Saturday, Lent 1	St. Mary in Transpadina	St. Peter
Monday, Lent 2	Sts. Cosmas & Damian	St. Clement
Tuesday, Lent 2		St. Balbina
Wednesday, Lent 2	St. George	St. Cæcilia
Thursday, Lent 2	St. George	St. Mary in Trastevere
Friday, Lent 2	St. Agatha in Monasterio	St. Vitalis
Saturday, Lent 2	St. Clement	St. Marcellinus & Peter
Monday, Lent 3	St. Hadrian	St. Mark
Tuesday, Lent 3	Sts. Sergius & Bacchus	St. Pudenziana
Wednesday, Lent 3	St. Balbina	St. Xystus
Thursday, Lent 3	St. Mark	Sts. Cosmas & Damian
Friday, Lent 3	St. Mary ad Martyres	St. Lawrence in Lucina
Saturday, Lent 3	St. Vitalis	St. Susanna
Monday, Lent 4	St. Stephen	Quattuor Coronati
Tuesday, Lent 4	Monast. of Domnae Rosae	St. Lawrence in Damaso
Wednesday, Lent 4	St. Mennas	St. Paul (Jlm)
Thursday, Lent 4	St. Quiricius	St. Martin ai monti
Friday, Lent 4	St. Vitus Magellus	St. Eusebius
Saturday, Lent 4	St. Angelus in Piscibus	St. Nicholas in Carcere
Monday, Lent 5	St. George	St. Chrysogonus
Tuesday, Lent 5		St. Quiricius
Wednesday, Lent 5	St. Mark	St. Marcellus
Thursday, Lent 5	St. Mary in Via Lata	St. Apollinaris
Friday, Lent 5	Sts. John and Paul	St. Stephen
Saturday, Lent 5	St. Xystus	St. John at the Latin Gate
Palm Sunday	St. Mary in Turri	St. John Lateran
Holy Week, Monday	St. Balbina	Sts. Nereus and Achilles
		St. Prisca
Holy Week, Tuesday	St. Mary in Portico	St. Mary Major
Holy Week, Wednesday	St. Peter ad Vincula	St. Peter
Great Litany, April 25	St. Mary in Turri	

APPENDIX II

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
1. 1 September / New Year	GC	Forum	Chalkoprateia
2. 8 September / Nat. Theotokos	GC	Forum	Chalkoprateia
3. 24 September / St. Thecla	GC	Forum	St. Thecla's ¹
4. 25 September / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum — Golden Gate—Tribunal of Hebdomon	St. Jn. Ap., Hebdomon
5. 26 September / Death of Jn. Ap.	GC	—	Jn. Ap., Diipion
6. 6 October / St. Thomas	GC	Forum	St. Thomas in Amantion ²
7. 7 October / Earthquake Mem.	GC	St. Anastasia Forum	Sts. Sergius and Bacchus ³
8. 18 October / St. Luke	GC	Forum	Holy Apostles
9. 26 October / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	Blachernae
10. 1 November / Sts. Cosmas and Damian	GC	—	Sts. Cosmas & Damian at Darcion ⁴
11. 6 November / Hail of Cinders Memorial	GC	Forum	Sts. Peter and Paul at Triconch
12. 8 November / St. Michael, Archangel	GC	Forum	St. Michael at Adas ⁵
13. 11 November / St. Menas	GC	—	St. Menas, Acropolis ⁶
14. 13 November / Chrysostom	GC	Forum	Holy Apostles

¹ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 248-250, a quarter near the Sophien Port.

² Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 142, located near the barley market near the Sophien Port. Cf. *idem*, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 99. *Idem* "Les processions religieuses" has a misprint here — 14 Sept. should read 24 Sept.

³ St. Anastasia was located in the Portico of Dominus, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 22-23; Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in the quarter of Hormisdas, just S. of the palace, *ibid.*, 451-454. October 7 is the feast of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, cf. NILLES, *Kalendarium* I, p. 298.

⁴ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 285, located NE. of the Sophien Port. One of the seven churches in Constantinople dedicated to the Healer Saints.

⁵ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 337-338, near Sophien Port, probably at the Propontis.

⁶ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 333-335, probably at what is now Seraglio Point.

APPENDIX 8 (continued)

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
15. 21 November / Presentation of Theotokos	GC	—	Chalkoprateia
16. 30 November / St. Andrew	GC	—	Holy Apostles
17. 14 December / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	St. Thyrsus in Helenianac ⁷
18. 18 December / Chalkoprateia	GC	(Milion)	Chalkoprateia
19. 23 December / Dedic. of Great Church	GC	Forum	GC ⁸
20. 26 December / Synax of Theotokos	GC	Forum	Blachernae ⁹
21. Sunday after Christmas / Sts. Joseph, James, David	GC	—	St. James at Chalkoprateia
22. 27 December / St. Stephen	GC	Forum	St. Stephen at Constantinianae ¹⁰
23. 9 January / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	St. Polyeuktos near Holy Apostles ¹¹
24. 16 January / St. Peter-in-Chains	GC	—	St. Peter at GC ¹²
25. 22 January / St. Timothy	GC	Forum	Holy Apostles

⁷ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 247-248. The quarter of Helenianae was probably west of Constantine's wall and SW of the Isakapi Djami; *idem*, "Les processions religieuses", p. 76 relates the procession to the memorial of St. Thyrsus, who is commemorated on 14 December, but it is certainly due to an earthquake memorial, as in the Typikon.

⁸ There are a number of problems here. First as to the date. MATEOS, *Typicon*, III-145 gives it as the evening of 22 December, and claims that the eucharist is celebrated late on account of fasting before Christmas. Patmos 266, (DMITRIEVSKII, *Opisanie* I, p. 34), however, says that the patriarch enters the sanctuary on 23 December for the beginning of the station procession at the third hour. Thus it seems that the 23rd which is the date of the rededication, should be preferred. In any case JANIN, "Les processions religieuses" is incorrect in giving 24 Dec. as the date and attributing the procession to a preparatory office for Christmas, p. 76.

⁹ JANIN, "Les processions religieuses", p. 76, mistakenly has 28 December.

¹⁰ Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 474-476: the quarter of Constantinianae was located between the Golden Horn and Holy Apostles.

¹¹ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 403-406; *idem*, "Les processions religieuses", pp. 76-77, fails to mention that this day was an earthquake memorial, but rather implies that the *raison d'être* of the procession was the feast of St. Polyeuktos.

¹² JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 398-399.

APPENDIX 8 (continued)

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
26. 25 January / St. Gregory of Nazianzus.	GC	Forum	St. Anastasia and Holy Apostles ¹³
27. 26 January / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	Theotokos at Helenianae ¹⁴
28. 27 January / Translation of Chrysostom's relics	GC	St. Thomas in Amantion	Holy Apostles
29. 2 February / Hypapante	GC	Forum	Blachernae
30. 6 February /	GC	Forum	Prodromos at Eremias ¹⁵
31. 24 February / Invention of Head of Prodromos	GC	—	Prodromos at Sphorakion ¹⁶
32. 9 March / 40 MM. of Sebaste	—	—	Forty MM. at Bronze Tetrapylon ¹⁷
33. 17 March / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	GC ¹⁸
34. 24 March / Vigil of Annunciation	GC	—	Chalkoprateia ¹⁹

¹³ There is an obvious difficulty in the text which gives three places for the eucharistic celebration: the GC, St. Anastasia, and Holy Apostles, where the relics were deposited by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. I suspect this has been deliberately left vague, cf. MATEOS, *Typicon*, p. 210. PATRICK 266 (DIMITRIEVSII, *Opisanie* I, p. 45) is of no help here since there is no mention of a procession at all.

¹⁴ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 177-178. MATEOS, *Typicon*, p. 213, n. 3, mistakenly refers to the Church of the Theotokos at Elaia or Elaeae, but this was near Galata. The reference should be to JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 331 (not pp. 416-417). Helenianae was outside the Constantinian walls near their southern extremity.

¹⁵ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 415-416, a monastery with parochial church, located in the Lycus Valley where Philius was buried.

¹⁶ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 440-441. This quarter was to the right of the Mese, between Milion and Forum.

¹⁷ MATEOS, *Typicon*, p. 244. The patriarch is designated as celebrant. The Bronze Tetrapylon was located NW of the Forum Tauri near the Philadelphion, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 485.

¹⁸ JANIN, "Les processions religieuses", p. 78 gives March 16, but this is a misreading of the *Typicon* which has 17 and not 16 March.

¹⁹ MATEOS, *Typicon*, pp. 256-258. Various options are provided when 25 March coincides with Palm Sunday, Thursday, Friday, or Saturday of Great Week, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday or the rest of Easter Week. The station at the Forum drops out only on Easter Sunday. The station at Chalkoprateia drops completely only on Easter Monday, in favor of Holy Apostles.

APPENDIX 8 (continued)

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
35. 25 March / Annunciation	GC	Forum	Chalkoprateia
36. 23 April / St. George	GC	Forum	St. George in Deuteron ²⁰
37. 8 May / St. Jn. Ap.	GC	Forum	St. Jn. Ap., Hebdomon
38. 11 May / Dies Natalis of Constantinople	GC	Forum	GC
39. 21 May / Sts. Constantine and Helen	GC	—	Sts. Constantine and Helen near Cistern of Bonus ²¹
40. 27 May / St. Stephen, patriarch	GC	Forum	St. George at Sykeous ²²
41. 2 June / St. Nicophorus, patriarch	GC	Forum	Holy Apostles
42. 4 June / St. Metrophanes, patriarch	GC	Forum	St. Metrophanes near St. Acacius ²³
43. 5 June / Mem. of Avar Siege	GC	Forum-Golden Gate Tribunal	Prodromos at Hebdomon
44. 14 June / St. Methodius, patriarch	GC	Forum	St. Methodius at Holy Apostles
45. 24 June / Nat. of Prodromos	GC	—	Prodromos at Sphorakion ²⁴
46. 25 June / Mem. of Saracen Attack	GC	Forum	Blachernae
47. 29 June / Sts. Peter Paul	GC	—	St. Peter at GC ²⁵

²⁰ JANIN, *Églises*, p. 69. This church was located in the Deuteron, between the Adrianople and St. Romanos Gates in the upper part of the Lycus Valley.

²¹ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 295-297, located northwest of Holy Apostles.

²² JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 77-78, probably a monastery located near the Adrianople Gate in the Deuteron.

²³ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 336-337. This church was located in the Heptaskalon ("Seven Steps"), a quarter near the Eleutherian Port, south of the modern Bodrum Djami.

²⁴ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 440-441. Sphorakion was a quarter to the right of the Mese between Milion and Forum.

²⁵ JANIN, *Églises*, 565ff. This was located near the skeuophylakion of the GC to the NE of the church proper. There was a vespers procession the night before with the patriarch's participation. It went from the chapel to the fountain in the middle of the GC atrium and finally to the Orphanage of St. Paul, near the Acropolis. The patriarch leaves the paramonic procession at the foundation to celebrate vespers in St. Peter's.

APPENDIX II (continued)

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIÖS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
48. 30 June / Twelve Apostles	GC	—	St. Paul's Orphanage
49. 1 July / Sts. Cosmas & Damian	GC	Forum	Sts. Cosmas and Damian quarter of Paulinus ²⁴
50. 2 July / Dep. of Robe of Theotokos	St. Lawrence ²⁷	—	Blachernae
51. 8 July / St. Procopius	GC	Forum	St. Procopius at the "Tortoise" ²⁸
52. 9 July / Dedic. of Theotokos of Pege	St. Mokios ²⁹	Pege Gate	Theotokos of Pege
53. 18 July / St. Stephen, Bp. of Constantinople	GC	—	Holy Apostles
54. 20 July / Ascension of Elijah	GC	Forum	St. Elijah in Petron ³⁰
55. 27 July / St. Panteleimon	GC	Forum	St. Panteleimon ³¹
56. 2 August / Translation of relics of St. Stephen	St. Stephen Zeugma	—	St. Stephen at Constantinian ³²

²⁴ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 286-289. This quarter is at Eyüp, a northern suburb of Constantinople on the Golden Horn, about 1 km. from Blachernae and thus 5 km. from the Great Church.

²⁷ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 300-301. Probably located in the Blachernae area. On the origins of this procession after the Avar attack of 619, cf. CAMERON, "The Virgin's Robe", pp. 43-56.

²⁸ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 443-444. This is probably an area near the Zeugma, a quarter near the Golden Horn, east of Holy Apostles.

²⁹ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 354-358, most probably near the Cistern of Mokios. The gate where the procession passes and takes up the Troparion is probably the Pege Gate, now called the Kallargou Gate. For the shrine at Pege, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 223-228. Note that the Typikon (MATEOS, p. 334) differentiates between the patriarch going to St. Mokios and the procession starting there.

³⁰ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 137-138. The Petron is just outside the Constantinian walls near the Golden Horn, where the modern Selim Djami is located. The Typikon (MATEOS, p. 346) makes it clear that the patriarch does not participate in this particular procession, but celebrates more gloriously at the Nea Ekklesia, where the chapel of Elijah was located.

³¹ JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 387-388. Located in the quarter of Narses, on the Golden Horn; SE of the Zeugma.

³² JANIN, *Églises*, p. 474 for St. Stephen in the Zeugma. His church in Constantinianae was not far away to the West. pp. 474-476.

APPENDIX III (continued)

PROCESSIONS IN HAGIÖS STAUROS 40

Date / Reason	Start	Interim Station	Eucharist
57. 7 August / Mem. of Avar & Persian Siege	GC	Wing Gate ³³	Blachernae
58. 15 August / Death of Theotokos	(GC)	St. Euphemia in Petron ³⁴	Blachernae
59. 16 August / Earthquake Mem.	GC	Attalus Gate - Golden Gate	Theotokos at "Jerusalem" ³⁵
60. 29 August / Beheading of Prodromos	GC	?	Prodromos at Spharakion ³⁶
61. 31 August / Dep. of Cincture of Theotokos	GC?	?	Chalkoprateia? ³⁷
62. Palm Sunday	40 MM at Bronze Tetracylion	—	GC
63. Easter Monday	GC	Forum	Holy Apostles
64. Easter Tuesday	GC	—	Blachernae
65. Pentecost Mon. Earthquake Mem.	GC	Forum	Blachernae
66. Pentecost Wed. / Sts. Michael and Gabriel	GC	—	Nea Ekklesia
67. All Saints Day	GC	—	All Saints at Holy Apostles
68. All Saints Wed.	GC	Forum	Theotokos in Palatia Petra

³³ JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 385. The Wing Gate was located at the very northern tip of Blachernae. This procession commemorates the siege of 626 when the city was saved by the Virgin's Robe.

³⁴ On St. Euphemia, perhaps the modern Gul Djami, cf. JANIN, *Églises*, pp. 127-129. For the location of the Petron, cf. n. 198 above. Paramone the night before is celebrated at Chalkoprateia.

³⁵ Two events are commemorated on 16 August, the deliverance of the city from the Arab siege of 717-718 and an earthquake of 542. The Attalus Gate was probably at the Constantinian wall, cf. JANIN, *Const. Byz.*, p. 247. The Church called "Jerusalem" was near the Golden Gate. This may have been the station because the day also served as commemoration of St. Diomedes, whose martyrdom was in the precincts of "Jerusalem".

³⁶ Ms. HS 40 breaks off just before the description of the order of the day. I hypothesize here that the procession stopped at the Forum on its way to the Prodromos in Spharakion.

³⁷ Once again, missing material is filled in from Patmos 266. Since the ordo is the same as that of 2 July (Deposition of the Robe at Blachernae), it seems that there would naturally be a procession to Chalkoprateia.

APPENDIX 9

ANALYSIS OF PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

PARTICIPATION OF THE PATRIARCH

Palm Sunday	13 November	5 June
Easter Monday	21 November	25 June
Easter Tuesday	14 December	30 June
Pentecost Monday	23 December	2 July
1 September	26 January	9 July
8 September	27 January	7 August
25 September	2 February	15 August
7 October	24 March	16 August
26 October	25 March	29 August (?)
6 November	11 May	31 August (?)
11 November	21 May	

NO INTERMEDIATE STATION AT THE FORUM

26 September	27 January	2 July
1 November	24 February	9 July
11 November	9 March	18 July
21 November	21 May	2 August
30 November	14 June	7 August
18 December	29 June	15 August
Sunday after Christmas	30 June	16 August
16 January		

INTERMEDIATE STATION OTHER THAN FORUM (OR IN ADDITION TO = +).

25 September	+ Golden Gate and Tribunal
7 October	+ Anastasia
18 December	Milion
27 January	St. Thomas in Amantion
5 June	+ Golden Gate and Tribunal
9 July	Pege Gate
7 August	Wing Gate
15 August	St. Euphemia
16 August	Attalus Gate and Golden Gate

PROCESSIONS RELATED TO THEOTOKOS

1 September	26 December	9 July
8 September	2 February	15 August
21 November	25 March	31 August
18 December	2 July	Easter Tuesday

APPENDIX 9 (continued)

ANALYSIS OF PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

PROCESSIONS IN HS 40

MAJOR CHURCH AS TERMINUS

a. Great Church

23 December
17 March
11 May
Palm Sunday

b. Holy Apostles

18 October
13 November
30 November
22 January
25 January
27 January
2 June
14 June
18 July
Easter Monday

c. Blachernae

26 October
26 December
2 February
25 June
2 July
7 August
15 August
Easter Tues.
Pentecost Mon.

d. Chalkoprateia

1 September
11 September
21 November
18 December
Sun. after Xmas
25 March
24 March
31 August

STATIONS OUTSIDE CITY WALLS

<i>Blachernae</i>	<i>Blachernae</i>	<i>Hebdomon</i>
26 October	2 July	26 September
26 December	7 August	8 May
2 February	15 August	5 June
25 June	Easter Tuesday	
	Pentecost Monday	
<i>Pege</i>	<i>Cosmas and Damian (Eyüp)</i>	
9 July	1 July	

APPENDIX 9 (continued)

ANALYSIS OF PROCESSIONS IN HAGIOS STAUROS 40

PROCESSIONS RELATED TO CIVIC EVENTS

a. *Earthquake Memorials*

25 September
7 October
26 October
14 December
9 January
26 January
17 March
16 August
Pentecost Monday

■. *Other Civic Events*

1 September - Great Fire, Indiction
6 November - Hail of Cinders
13 November - Exile of Chrysostom
11 May - Dies Natalis CP
5 June - Avar Siege
25 June - Saracen Attack
2 July - Dep. of Virgin's Robe
7 August - Avar/Persian Siege

APPENDIX 10

STATIONAL SERVICES IN THE TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH (10th CENTURY)

Three-antiphons sung at the Divine Liturgy

1 September (GC)	Easter Wednesday
25 September	Easter, Sunday 2
6 November	Easter, Monday 2
24 December	Easter, Wednesday 2
25 December	Mid-Pentecost
5 January	Ascension Thursday
6 January	Sunday before Pentecost
5 June	Pentecost Sunday
Lent - Sat. 5	
Lent - Sat. 6	
Easter Sunday	
Easter Tuesday	

No three-antiphon office at Divine Liturgy

1 September (Chalk.)	11 May
8 September	25 June
14 September	29 June
7 October	2 July
26 October	9 July
14 December	7 August
18 December	15 August
23 December	16 August
16 January	Palm Sunday
26 January	Holy Saturday
2 February	Pentecost Monday
25 March	Pentecost Wednesday

Three-antiphon office at intermediate station

1 September	11 May
7 October	Easter Monday
6 November	

Three-antiphon office prior to procession

6 November	Easter Monday
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APPENDIX 10 (continued)

STATIONAL SERVICES IN THE TYPIKON OF THE
GREAT CHURCH (10th CENTURY)

Ektenie recited at Forum

1 September	2 February
25 September	25 March
7 October	11 May
6 November	5 June
23 December	25 June
26 January	16 August
	Easter Monday
	Pentecost Monday

"Usual Prayers" at Forum

1 September	6 February
24 September	17 March
25 September	23 April
6 October	8 May
18 October	11 May
26 October	27 May
6 November	2 June
8 November	4 June
13 November	14 June
30 November	1 July
26 December	8 July
27 December	20 July
9 January	27 July
22 January	Pentecost Monday
25 January	Pentecost Wednesday

APPENDIX 11

STATIONAL PROCESSIONS IN THE DE CEREMONIIS

A. Book I

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Date/Reason</i>	<i>Interm. Station</i>	<i>Eucharist</i>
I	8 Sept./Nat. of Theotokos	Forum	Chalkoprateia
10	Easter Monday	Forum	Holy Apostles
25(16)	Antipascha Sun.	—	Holy Apostles
26(17)	Mid-Pentecost	Forum	St. Mokios
27(18)	Ascension	Gilded Gate	Fege
36(17)	2 Feb./Hypopante	—	Blachernae
39(30)	25 Mar./Annunciation	Forum	Chalkoprateia
43(34)	Good Friday	—	Blachernae (no euch.)
II:7	All Saints	Holy Apostles	All Saints
II:9	15 Aug./Koimesis of Theotokos	—	Blachernae

B. Book II

Date/Reason

9 March/Forty Soldier Martyrs
21 May/St. Constantine
1 July/Sts. Cosmas and Damian
27 July/St. Panteleimon
29 Aug./Beheading of Proedromos - Studios Monastery
26 Sept./St. John the Theologian
1 Nov./Sts. Cosmas and Damian

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